

Number 16

Essays from  
"Teaching and Writing Local History Lac Courte Oreilles"  
May, 1993

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Local History Seminar: Lac Courte Oreilles

May, 1993

REQUIRED READING:

John Boatman, An Anthropology of Western Great Lakes Indian History (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 1987).

Melissa L. Meyer, "'We Can Not Get a Living as We Used To': Dispossession and the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889-1920," American Historical Review, Vol.96, No.2 (April, 1991), 368-394.

James W. Oberly, "The LCO Ojibwas and Resources of the Chippewa River Valley: Tribal Sovereignty versus Corporate, State, and Federal Power, 1864-1923." Paper for the 1991 American Indian History and Culture Conference, Oneida, WI.

Rick St. Germaine, Classroom Activities on Chippewa Treaty Rights (Madison: Department of Public Instruction, 1991).

Ronald Satz, Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective (Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1991)

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986)

Thomas Vennum, The Ojibwa Dance Drum: Its History and Construction Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Folklore Series, 1982)

\_\_\_\_\_, Wild Rice and the Ojibway People (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1988)

Gerald Vizenor, "The People Named The Chippewa," and "Shadows at La Pointe," The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

**Monday, May 17 (Northern Pine Motel):**

3:45 pm: Vans pickup passengers from Duluth Airport for shuttle to Hayward.

6:00 pm: Dinner in Meeting Room at Northern Pine Motel.

7:00 pm: Introduction (Staff) Welcome, review of week schedule, introduction of staff members and speakers, presentation of objectives for the week by Fred Hoxie. These include:

1. Presentation of an overview of Ojibwa history and the

organized by Nancy Merrill and the Native American Studies faculty from Views from Lac Courte Oreilles College. This will be an open forum on tribal governance, tribal education, and economic development.

**Wednesday, May 19 (Lac Courte Oreilles College and Reservation):**

8:30 am: Vans leave from Northern Pine Motel to LCO College.

9-12 pm: Morning Session--Natural resources and the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation. Tom Vennum will return to describe the role of wild rice in Ojibwa history and discuss the extent to which the decline of rice cultivation is an indicator of the community's recent history. Rick St. Germaine and members of the Lac Courte Oreilles College faculty will also describe the economic history of the reservation and the ways in which this history is (or might be) incorporated into the tribal college curriculum.

1:30-4:30 pm: Afternoon Session--James Oberly will talk about the construction and impact of the Winter dam on tribal resources. Rick St. Germaine, formerly tribal chairman of Lac Courte Oreilles and now on the faculty at the University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, will lead a discussion of approaches to teaching about recent legal controversies, particularly the Chippewa fishing rights cases of the 1970s and 1980s. Drawing on material prepared from the Chippewa Treaties book, St. Germaine will describe how this history is presented and what new research opportunities it suggests. The seminar will also discuss the extent to which other reservations have followed histories that parallel the events at Lac Courte Oreilles.

4:45 pm: Feast hosted by Lac Courte Oreilles community.

7:00 pm: Evening Session--Local history on film and dinner hosted by Lac Courte Oreilles Community College. Views from other reservations. At this session participants will view examples of recent efforts to present reservation histories on film and discuss their value in the classroom. The film we will be viewing is The Drum Maker followed by comments and discussion by those involved in the film production and individuals close to Mr. Bill Baker

**Thursday, May 20 (Madeline Island):**

9:00 am: Vans leave from Northern Pine Motel for field day on Madeline Island.

11:00 am: Arrive in Bayfield to catch ferry to Madeline

- history of the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation.
2. Review of methods used to present Lac Courte Oreilles history at the Lac Courte Oreilles college.
  3. Introduction of different approaches to the study of reservation history, including the history of music, economic history, and social history.
  4. Introduction of the use of historic sites, museums, and artifacts for the study of local history.
  5. Introduction of the use of tribal elders and other oral sources for the study of reservation history.
  6. Discussion of applicability of the methods and topics described above to tribal college and Indian studies curricula.

Hoxie will also review the issues seminar participants will be expected to raise during the week. These include the relationship between reservation history and tribal history, the contrast between reservation history as viewed from outside and inside an Indian community, and the research opportunities suggested by the topic.

**Tuesday, May 18 (Lac Courte Oreilles College):**

8:30 am: Vans leave from Northern Pine Motel to LCO College.

9-12 pm: Morning Session--Led by Academic Dean Nancy Merrill, the faculty, and elders of the Lac Courte Oreilles College and reservation will present an overview of their approach to the teaching of tribal history. They will focus on the role of storytelling in the making and recording of history and the ways in which community elders are used as resources in the tribal college curriculum. Marilyn Benton, LCO Native American Studies Department, will discuss a model she has developed for bringing elders into the curriculum process as well as fostering and nurturing relationships between elders and students.

1:30-4:30 pm: Afternoon Session--An overview of the function of music in North American Indian society and the history of musical forms in Wisconsin Ojibwa communities by Thomas Vennum, Smithsonian Institution. Vennum will discuss the ways in which music provided a window on both Ojibwa history and the history of North American Indians in general. In addition, he will describe research methods in the history of local music and lead a discussion of the applicability of his approach to other communities.

4:45 pm: Dinner hosted by Lac Courte Oreilles college.

7:00 pm: Evening Session--Discussion with tribal council members

Island, a site approximately seventy miles from Hayward. Madeline was an ancient trading center for Ojibwas and others which became a fur trade center in the seventeenth century, a French fort in the eighteenth century, and a crossroads for both merchants and Indians in the nineteenth century. The State of Wisconsin operates a museum on the site during the summer and fall. Presentations will include the following:

"Overview of Madeline Island Museum," Steve Cotherman, Curator.

"Madeline Island in Ojibwa History," Helen Hornbeck Tanner, The Newberry Library.

"Madeline Island Museum: Artifacts as History," Thomas Vennum, The Smithsonian Institution.

Throughout the day's events, seminar leader Fred Hoxie will raise the broad issues that unite the week's session: How can these presentations be incorporated into an Indian history class? How can conflicting views from oral informants be understood and used? What research questions are suggested by these presentations?

4:30 pm: Dinner hosted by Red Cliff Ojibwa community.

Friday, May 21 (Lac Courte Oreilles College):

8:30 am: Vans leave from Northern Pine Motel to LCO College.

9-12 pm: Morning Session--The faculty and elders of the Lac Courte Oreilles College Ojibwa language programs will discuss the importance of native language in recording and interpreting reservation history. Chippewa place names will be used to demonstrate how the history of naming specific locations can be a way of tracing the history of a community. In the course of their presentation, the Ojibwa language faculty will describe the role of Wisconsin water ways in the fur trade and history of the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation as well as what this evidence suggests about the role of bilingual Indian women in the establishment of the fur trade in the area.

1:30-4:30 pm: Afternoon Session--Helen Hornbeck Tanner will discuss the use of maps to teach the local history of reservation communities using her Atlas of the Great Lakes History as a text. She will describe the history

of the Atlas and introduce participants to the



cartographic sources they might use in their classrooms.

Saturday, May 22 (Lac Courte Oreilles):

8:30 am: Vans leave Northern Pine Motel to LCO College.

9-12 pm: Morning Session--Cheryl Metoyer-Duran of the School of Information and Library Sciences, UCLA, will present the results of her study of the Lac Courte Oreilles College library. She will discuss how a tribal college library can make maximum use of its resources and provide support for faculty. Participants will be asked to compare their home libraries with the resources described by Professor Metoyer-Duran.

1:30-4:30 pm: Closing Session--Evaluation and discussion of local history and "Indian" history, led by Fred Hoxie and seminar staff. How does one support the other? Where do they diverge? How can teaching the history of local communities enhance a college's educational mission? Or, alternatively, how might the study of local history call accepted ideas about community life and community values into question?

## Introduction

On May 17-22, 1993 twenty college teachers from different institutions and different disciplines together for our first seminar in on "Teaching and Writing Local History: Lac Courte Oreilles" in our Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Development Program which is being organized by the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The week-long seminar at Lac Courte Oreilles in Hayward, WI provided a diverse set of college teachers an opportunity to learn about the history and culture of this community and, most importantly, an opportunity to think about how one accomplishes the teaching and writing of local and tribal history. What are the different approaches? And how are they taught in different settings?

In any profession, there is a considerable amount of retooling that needs to be done from time to time. The essays in this occasional paper are one result of the long and unending discussions and ideas we had about curriculum development in Indian history. The occasional paper provides an opportunity for seminar participants to share their knowledge and resources (i.e., bibliographies, course outlines, and literature reviews) with each other and with those college teacher's whose time has also come to rethink and redesign their courses in teaching and writing Ojibwe history and culture.

The collection begins with and essay by Frederick E. Hoxie, Center Director, which discusses how the local History seminar unfolded and reflects on some of the topics converted during the

week. This essay is followed by other contributions from seminar participants which we have organized into two categories, those which provide general approaches to the teaching and writing of local and tribal history and those which provide a background or an approach to teaching and writing about the Ojibwe people.

The first set of essays begins with James Treat's multidisciplinary approach to teaching and writing an upper-division level course on Native American Tribal histories at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Paul Robertson's essay shows how he brings together "community and classroom" to validate the knowledge, beliefs, and experiences of the students and the local community at Oglala Lakota College. Jean Kehoe-O'Brien, like Treat is faced with the prospect of teaching Indian history in a large, ethnically diverse classroom at the University of Minnesota she describes the design of her two-quarter upper-division survey course in Native American history.

This group of essays is followed by M. Kimberly Calvillo's personal and reflective piece on "What is a Syllabus" which she threads together in a circular rendition. Roxanne Siert also offers her own thoughts about how she teaches a multidisciplinary course on Native American women at Nebraska Indian Community College. Then, two other thought-filled essays ask whether we should teach about Native American religion and beliefs in the classroom and, if so, how we should approach this topic with our students. First, Karen White Eyes of Lakota Studies Department at Oglala Lakota College shares her thoughts and experiences, as both an administrator and teacher, about teaching Native American religion and beliefs in her local community and suggests this

topic needs to be approached with caution and respect, in all cases. Ann Braude similarly grapples with this question of whether she should teach Native American religion in her classroom at Carleton College and suggest issues that should be addressed in designing and teaching such a course.

Finally, Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, a Native American librarian at the University of California-Riverside, provides important insights on how tribal college libraries can empower the way we teach, write, and do research on local and tribal histories.

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, a Senior Research Associate at the Newberry Library, opens the second group of essays which provides various resources and approaches for teaching and writing about the local history of Lac Courte Oreilles and the Ojibwe people.

Patricia Albers, of the American West Center and of the Anthropology Department at the University of Utah, provides a review of anthropological constructs used to describe and categorize the Ojibwe people. Lawrence T. Martin, a faculty member in the English Department at the University of Akron, similarly reviews the oral literature on the Ojibwe and suggests an approach for teaching about this topic in the classroom.

These essays are followed by Donna Rosh, at Moorhead State University, who uses Louise Erdrich's novel Love Medicine to inform students about Ojibwe cultural traditions and experiences. Julie Tharp also examines relationships between literature and Ojibwe women's lives in her English courses at UW-Plattesville while Agnes Wagosh describes her struggles and challenges in designing an Ojibwe language course for students at NAES College in Chicago, IL. Finally, Beatrice Bigony, with the assistance of

the Lac Courte Oreilles Community College faculty, provides a much needed essay on protocols for professionals working in the Ojibwe community.

This occasional paper is the first in a series of seminars on "Teaching and Writing Local History." Future seminars are scheduled for June 1994 at Little Big Horn College at Crow Agency, MT and June 1995 at Navajo Community College in Tsaile, AZ.

These publications are being distributed to all seminar participants in the Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Development Program, 1993-1996. The contents are intended for sharing and circulation among other department members so that the ideas can be disseminated to all teachers of Indian History.

The papers are published in the form submitted to the Center staff, with proofreading limited to a review for internal consistency. No effort has been made to recast citations into a uniform style. Additional copies are available at cost for \$5 and can be obtained by writing to: The D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, IL. 60610.

Bridges Across Boundaries:  
Reflections on the Local History Seminar at LCO Community College

by  
Frederick E. Hoxie  
Newberry Library

The syllabus printed at the front of this anthology was the blueprint for a week-long series of presentations and discussions on "Teaching and Writing Local History" held at Lac Courte Oreilles Community College (LCO) near Hayward, Wisconsin from Monday, May 17 through Saturday, May 22, 1993. The participants included twenty college and university teachers from Tribal Colleges (Oglala Lakota College, Nebraska Indian College and LCO itself), research universities (University of Utah, University of Minnesota, University of California, University of Chicago, University of Akron), colleges with primary strength in undergraduate education (Moorhead State University, Mount Senario College, University of Wisconsin branch campuses, Carleton College, Northern Montana College, NAES College) and one community college (Brainerd Community College). Twelve participants were of Native American ancestry. In addition, the group was augmented by faculty members from LCO College (Nancy Merrill, Marilyn Benton, and Bill Sutton), ethnomusicologist Thomas Vennum, educator and historian Richard St. Germaine, historian Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Library Science consultant Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, and Newberry staff members Brenda Kay Manuelito and myself. When the group assembled in one place, there always seemed to be thirty of us.

The week began with a deceptively relaxed dinner on Monday evening. Joining the participants and presenters for the meal

was the Chairman of LCO College's Board of Regents, Mr. Harold Frogg, Dr. and Mrs. Jasjit Minhas, President of the college, and Gaiashkibos, Chairman of the tribal council. Following introductions and welcoming remarks from the local hosts, I tried to describe the general goals of the week. I had two foremost in mind: introducing participants to the contours of Ojibwe history and the history of this reservation, and examining the issues that arise when one sets out to teach and write about a particular native community. It seemed to me that the most important thing we could do were to take in new information and discuss its implications for our own teaching and research. We could have stayed home and read Tom Vennum's and Helen Tanner's books or listened to tapes of Marilyn Benton's lectures or Jerry Smith's stories; instead we had come great distances to study this subject together. Why? What possibilities did this gathering contain? We had a chance to learn together about this community and then to talk together about what it meant for our own teaching and research. In the process we would learn about how one constructs, interprets and teaches a local history.

I thought as well that pursuing the twin goals of assimilating new information and reflecting critically upon it would move us all towards another goal that I did not discuss that first night. That more ambitious (and more ethereal) goal was to establish intellectual ties between tribal college faculties and people who teach about Indians in settings distant from Native American communities. Those intellectual ties would not only be a source of personal strength (it's always encouraging to feel that you are part of a large network), but

would also spark new ideas for research and teaching. Teaching the history of a particular tribe, whatever the setting, often leads to parochialism and narrowness. One begins to believe that he or she knows all there is about this group--either because one is a part of that group or because one has mastered the academic literature on that group--and therefore grows less interested in other topics or points of view. Unfortunately, this feeling of parochialism is often exacerbated by the fact that specialists in Native American subjects rarely have the kind of colleagues around them that people do in more traditional subjects such as English Literature or Chemistry.

The opening evening was "deceptively relaxed" because I stated my ambitious goals simply and briefly. I wasn't sure how far we would get, so I was cautious (probably too cautious) in my initial presentation. I awaited the sessions ahead for further opportunities to raise them. In retrospect, I wish I had taken more time to discuss things that first night, but it seemed more important simply to greet one another, to acknowledge the hospitality of our Lac Courte Oreille hosts, and establish our basic goals for the week. The work would start soon enough.

Tuesday and Wednesday were taken up with presentations by LCO faculty and elders, the Smithsonian's Tom Vennum, and the team of Rick St. Germaine and his colleague from the Eau Claire campus of the University of Wisconsin, Jim Oberly. Between these sessions we had 45 minute audience with the tribal council, an evening with the tribal chairman, a series of hearty meals, and another evening where we viewed a film profile of Bill Baker, The Drum Maker. The days began with breakfast at 8:00 A.M. and ended



when the buses returned to the motel after 9:00 P.M. Thursday was a day away from classrooms as we travelled together to Madeline Island and toured the historic sites there before having dinner with members of the Red Cliff reservation community near Bayfield, Wisconsin. Friday and Saturday returned to the rhythms of the first few days: presentations from the Newberry's Helen Tanner, LCO faculty members and elders, Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, and a final discussion and evaluation session where the contents of this volume were planned. Interspersed between these sessions were countless individual conversations over meals and in the hallways and a series of brief presentations by all participants about their own teaching and research interests.

My first objective was quickly and amply achieved. Participants heard tremendously informative presentations about reservation history and fascinating words of commentary and insight from elders. They also received books and xeroxes to take home and copied down references to additional sources. The second objective took a bit of time. At first the group spent so much time absorbed in getting its bearings and taking maximum advantage of the experts arrayed before it that there was little time for a critical discussion of the issues raised. As the days wore on, however, a series of seemingly unrelated discussions began to push us back from the immediate topic before us so that we might get a glimpse of the larger whole. These focused discussions led to some deeper insights and provided me with the most satisfying aspect of the seminar.

The first topic was something that floated in and out of the sessions on the opening day. That is, what is the Indian

perspective on an event or topic? The LCO faculty presentations made clear that in their view the Indian perspective is the perspective of the elders, the people who bear and pass on the traditions of the community in the community. Whether the topic is boarding schools or music, the "Indian perspective" is how the subject appears and is understood by elders resident in a community. No one claimed this was the only perspective that should be taken on events, but it seemed that everyone would agree that an Indian perspective involves the perceptions and understandings of community leaders. Similarly, no one claimed that this perspective was uniform or homogeneous--different elders remembered and valued different kinds of information--but that everyone seemed to agree that there exists a local cultural community that forms the core of what is "Indian" about this or any other reservation.

Second, we spent a large part of the second afternoon talking about books. This was a somewhat accidental discussion, prompted by one participant's statement that she had asked her students read one piece of "junk" so that they could analyze its audience and purpose. "There are", she declared, "no bad books" students to can learn from junk. In a setting where all of us had commented on individuals who write bad books or perpetrate stereotypical pictures of Native American life, that sounded jarring and controversial. Surprisingly, however, most people agreed. While acknowledging that distant scholars often misperceive native communities or, worse, distort their histories, the group talked at length about books that work with students and books that, while not perfect, are valuable. The

discussion was also a tacit compliment for our presenters--  
Vennum, Tanner and St. Germaine--whose books formed the basis for  
our discussions.

Third, Rick St. Germaine declared at the close of his  
presentation on the treaty rights struggle in Wisconsin (these  
are my notes and paraphrases of his very eloquent statement):

We will never resolve the issues that arose when the Winter  
dam was built, causing the flooding of a reservation  
village. We will never resolve the questions over the  
relocation of that village. We will never resolve the issue  
of how and when the village cemetery was moved. We will  
never resolve the pain and suffering that the event caused  
for people in this community. Nevertheless, we were able to  
reach agreement over a new lease for the dam and we were  
able to move forward in building bridges to the non-Indian  
community.

His phrase, "we will never resolve," echoed through the rest of  
that day and into the following session. His work in tribal  
affairs and his commitment to education were plain for all to  
see, yet he acknowledged that there were issues and conflicts  
that would never be resolved or healed completely. That  
discontinuous position--acting to build bridges while recognizing  
that those bridges would have only limited value--crystallized a  
great deal of the content of the seminar. It reflected Paul  
Robertson's revealing comment that non-Indians who work in native  
communities should consider "ethnic suicide" if they were truly  
committed to reservation culture. It helped me comprehend how  
helpless I felt standing at the gate to the poorly maintained  
Indian cemetery on Madeline Island, watching a 40 foot yacht  
motor out of La Pointe harbor, only fifty yards away. It helped  
me see that accomplishing our goals of intellectual bridge-  
building did not require us--in fact, should not require us--to

resolve all the conflicts and injuries of the past. It did require that we acknowledge those injuries, but not that we reconcile them.

Finally, our last morning ended with a discussion of what it means to "work" in a library. On the surface, our conversation about the importance of working through sources, evaluating them against one another and comparing their information to the information available through oral history, material culture, and cartography, seemed quite obvious. We were having a discussion similar to the one we lead our students through in History 101. But coming as it did at the end of an intense week of lectures and discussions, the conversation underscored the fact that writing local history does not require us to choose between books and oral sources, and it should not cause us to think that we will find "the truth" in any one source. We had become convinced that the subject is sufficiently complex and the sources are sufficiently diverse, that the only way to proceed is to "work" with the sources available. I thought it was a wonderful way to end and to introduce the importance of library research.

These four conversations demonstrated to me that the people we had assembled for this seminar had successfully put aside their preconceptions and individual prejudices and were willing to acknowledge an area of common ground. They avoided the essentialist argument that only "full bloods" or only "traditionals" can write or understand the history of a particular community. While acknowledging the special insights of local elders and appreciating the difficulty of grasping an "Indian point of view," participants saw the task of writing

local history as complex and open-ended, an enterprise in which each person can, at best, master a piece of the story.

When this program began I wrote a great deal about the isolation of people who teach about Indians, whether they carry out their duties in a large urban university or a small tribal college. Based on my conversations with a variety of people in the field, I had come to imagine that connecting people who teach in native communities with those who work away from those communities would both enrich each group and stimulate new research. It was amazing to see that supposition begin to take shape at Lac Courte Oreilles. Participants in the seminar, whatever their point of origin, seemed to appreciate what they could learn from others. We began to feel "networked" in a real intellectual enterprise.

Whether this tentative network survives and can spread remains to be seen. Succeeding seminars and fellowship opportunities will allow these and other participants to strengthen the ties among themselves and between their institutions and the McNickle Center. New projects, imagined or discussed at LCO, will require hard work to reach completion. But this volume represents a concrete product of our time together. Each of the contributions grows out of a conversation or session at the seminar and all are by participants in the seminar. They reflect new directions in both research and teaching. It is, in a sense, a "survival guide to LCO and local history," because it shares ideas that made sense to all of us engaged in that subject. It is also a blueprint for the future, a manifestation of this remarkable group's commitment to

scholarship, teaching, and the goal of building bridges across  
unresolved conflict.

## Teaching Tribal/Reservation History OFF the Reservation

by  
James Treat  
University of California, Santa Cruz

I attended the Local History Seminar at LCO Community College looking for new approaches to teach Native American history and for new colleagues involved in this project-I found both. I am particularly interested in developing alternatives to the traditional pedagogy that focuses on the history of "Indian-white relations," an interpretive framework that often lumps together very disparate tribal experiences and then perpetuates Eurocentric perspectives by marginalizing or ignoring Native American interactions with African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. The local history approach seems like an appropriate way to mitigate these problems, though Fred Hoxie is right in pointing out that teaching tribal history can lead to "parochialism and narrowness." I am convinced that taking a multidisciplinary approach to teaching and writing Native American history can also play an important part in breaking down the colonial master narrative that has dominated the scholarly discourse in Native American Studies since 1492.

"Native American Tribal Histories" is a new course offering in the American Studies curriculum at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Courses in Native American Studies are currently offered by several campus program units including the Boards of Literature, History and Anthropology; these courses cover many of the central themes and issues involved in the study of Native American peoples by surveying cultural traditions, historical experiences, and literary expressions on a broad

national and comparative level. In the American Studies program we are attempting to design course offerings that will complement these established courses while emphasizing multidisciplinary and topical approaches to Native American Studies. The course on tribal histories will facilitate the discussion of a wide range of historical, cultural and literary questions that are important for understanding contemporary realities and theories, and it may also provide pedagogical alternatives to the cultural and historical generalizations that sometimes emerge from survey courses.

Native Americans are a popular topic among UCSC students, most of whom think of themselves as liberal or progressive in their political and social orientations. For example, during the 1992-93 academic year the lower-division American Studies survey course, "Native American Indian Cultures" (recently retitled "The Native American Experience"), was offered twice; it enrolled approximately 175 students and continually turned away just as many so that (allowing for some overlap between the two quarters) about eight percent of the undergraduate population attempted to take this course in a single year. The Native American student population at UCSC, however, is roughly representative of state and national demographics: fifty to seventy-five of the eight thousand UCSC undergraduates are Native American, constituting less than one percent of the total population. Courses in Native American Studies are thus intended to diversify the curriculum for all UCSC students while also serving the personal interests and educational needs of UCSC's Native American students.

Other courses in Native American Studies at UCSC incorporate



a regional emphasis by highlighting Native Californian groups; the course on tribal histories might very well take a local history approach and focus on the study of the Ohlone (Costanoan) people, whose traditional territory extends from the Monterey Bay to the San Francisco Bay and some of whom still live in this area. Two important factors make the local history paradigm less useful or desirable here than it may be in other parts of the United States. First, Native California is home to a rich variety of tribal peoples; anthropologists and others have described this area as the most culturally and linguistically diverse region in North America. Restricting the scope of the course to studying only the most immediate "local" group would be overly narrow, especially since several other tribal groups (which are distinctly different from the Ohlones in language, cultural traditions, and historical experiences) are located within fifty miles of Santa Cruz. Such a course would serve the interests of only a small portion of the University's primary constituency, the population of the state of California. Second, Native Californians make up only about ten percent of the Native American population in the state; the remaining ninety percent came to California from other areas to pursue employment opportunities in the urban areas. A local (or even regional or statewide) history approach might actually benefit non-native students more than UCSC's Native American students, who typically maintain family and community ties outside of California and are understandably more interested in exploring their own cultural and historical roots.

So how should we teach a course on Native American tribal

histories at UCSC, in light of these geographic and demographic factors? While participating in the seminar at LCO Community College, I found myself envying the situation facing some of the educators from tribal colleges: they enjoy ready access to a wealth of community resources (elders and leaders, community events, the land), and they appreciate the urgency of teaching tribal history in an effective way as a means of strengthening reservation community life and of defusing off-reservation racism. In Santa Cruz, Indian country seems far away, and most of my urban, liberal, privileged, Hollywood-educated students think that everyone loves Indians as much as they think they do. How can the tribal history approach be useful in a situation where there is a drought of community resources and a bumper crop of romanticized stereotypes?

I will be teaching "Native American Tribal Histories" as an upper-division seminar emphasizing research methodologies and interpretive theories demonstrated with a single in-depth case study and then applied by students to their own research projects. We will consider a wide range of textual materials from a multidisciplinary perspective in an attempt to understand the significance of tribal identity in American society. I intend to use the Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma as the case study; there is a good variety of readily accessible literature on Creek history and culture, and this will afford me the opportunity to become better acquainted with my own tribal history. Readings in theory and methodology will precede and accompany the case study, including selections from Calvin Martin's The American Indian and the Problem of History (1987) and articles from the growing

literature on nationalism and ethnicity and on representations of cultural identity. Each student will select, by the end of the second week of class, a particular nation/tribe/community for the research project (I encourage students to choose topics they have some personal connection to) and will submit weekly progress reports throughout the quarter. During the last three weeks of the quarter, students will make class presentations on their research and each student will also submit a final written report at the end of the quarter.

The key to making the case study approach work, since most students will have little specific interest in or connection to the particular case study under consideration, is to demonstrate that there is no one right answer to the question "Who are the Creeks?" This is not so much a course on tribal history, then, at least not in the sense that it is limited to the study of a unilinear chronology of documented and remembered events, as it is a course on the nature of tribal identity and on the different ways in which tribal members, outside observers, and academic scholars attempt to understand and to interpret the significance of this identity in the context of American society.

Course readings will be drawn from a variety of documentary sources representing historical, ethnographic, and literary perspectives on Creek life:

Traditional stories describing Creek origins and migrations, beliefs and values.

Archaeological interpretations of Creek life prior to contact with Europeans and Africans.

Ethnographic accounts by early observers and scholars such as Hernando de Soto and John R. Swanton.

Autobiographies by Creek individuals such as George Washington Grayson and Tsianina Blackstone.

Biographies of prominent Creek leaders such as Alexander McGillivray and Alexander Posey, along with their speeches and writings.

Historical surveys such as Angie Debo's The Road to Disappearance and J. Leitch Wright Jr's Creeks and Seminoles.

Oral histories recorded during the 1930s by fieldworkers with the Works Progress Administration.

Maps of the Creek Nation before removal, in Indian Territory, and after Oklahoma statehood.

Treaties and other agreements between the Creek nation and the United States.

Muscogee language texts and the Muscogee-English dictionary by Loughridge and Hodge.

Contemporary literatures (prose and poetry) by Creek authors such as Joy Harjo and Louis Littlecoon Oliver.

Contemporary tribal publications including official reports describing tribal government, economic development, and social services, along with the tribal newspaper, Muscogee Nation News.

These texts will be supplemented by classroom experiences aimed at expanding students' understanding of Creek identity even further:

Guest lectures by Creek individuals living in the Monterey Bay or San Francisco Bay areas.

Videotapes produced during the last decade by the Creek Nation Communications Department and independent filmmakers, which cover a wide range of topics related to Creek history and culture.

Audio tapes of spoken Muscogee language and of Creek music including Stomp Dance songs and hymnal.

Traditional and contemporary art (slides) by Creek artists such as Joan Hill and Fred Beaver.

The tribal histories course will meet twice a week in a seminar format; class meetings will consist of brief lectures,

audiovisual presentations, discussions of the readings, and collaborative research projects. After their research topics have been finalized, students will be organized into research groups of three or four on the basis of cultural, historical, or geographical connections among their projects. Each student will submit weekly progress reports consisting of two parts: a brief critical response to the week's readings, and a brief summary of research progress and direction. Each student also will be required to conduct at least one interview with an elder or leader from their particular tribe and to incorporate this information into the final report. The final report will represent a critical assessment of tribal history, identity and survival; it will consist of four parts: 1) an annotated bibliography covering the major historical and ethnographic sources as well as audiovisual materials and other unconventional "texts"; 2) an historical outline of tribal history reflecting particular tribal conceptions of history and historical periodization; 3) a sketch of tribal community life today, surveying topics such as demographic trends, land base, government, economic development, language; 4) and a brief essay on the issues and challenges facing tribal elders and leaders as they look to the future.

"Native American Tribal Histories" will consider a wide range of themes and issues that are involved in the study of Native American cultural traditions, historical experiences, and literary expressions; the course will also raise important questions about community and identity as they are negotiated on the multicultural terrain of contemporary American society.

Students will find themselves engaged in debates over:  
nationalism and ethnicity; social constructions of "tribe" and  
"history"; cultural perceptions of historiography' authorship,  
authority and authenticity; oral traditions and documentary  
history; forms of self-narration; and representations of ethnic  
identity. Students will also acquire theoretical tools and  
develop research methodologies that will enable them to make  
constructive contributions to the ongoing effort to write tribal  
histories that are accurate, current, relevant, meaningful and  
responsible.

Native American Tribal Histories  
American Studies 123H  
Spring 1994

James Treat, Assistant Professor  
Oakes College 203  
Office phone: 459-3849

*There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, towns and tribes of the Upper, Middle and Lower Creeks and Semanories composing the Creek Nation of Indians.*

*Treaty of 1790*

*The vitality of our race still persists. We have not lived for naught. We are the original discoverers of this continent, and the conquerors of it from the animal kingdom, and on it first taught the arts of peace and war, and first planted the institutions of virtue, truth and liberty. The European Nations found us here and were made aware that it was possible for men to exist and subsist here. . . . We have shown that what they believed were arid and desert places were habitable and capable of sustaining millions of people. We have led the vanguard of civilization in our conflicts with them for tribal existence from ocean to ocean. The race that has rendered this service to the other nations of mankind cannot utterly perish.*

*Pleasant Porter, 1906*

*oklahoma will be the last song  
i'll ever sing*

*Joy Harjo, 1979*

Like people in all human communities, members of every Native American society have conceived of themselves as being independent and unique in some way, as having their own particular identity in a world of human diversity. Today many Native American tribal nations continue to assert their political sovereignty and cultural autonomy within the context of contemporary American society. This course is based on the premise that studying the history of a single Native American tribal nation is as worthwhile and interesting as studying the history of any modern African, Asian, or European nation.

The course is organized around an in-depth case study of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma, which is the third-largest federally recognized tribe in the United States. We will read a wide range of literature drawn from the fields of ethnography, history, ethnohistory, and political science, as well as journalistic accounts, legal documents, reference works, tribal publications, Creek language texts, speeches, autobiographies, poetry, short stories, oral traditions, art, photographs, and maps. In the classroom we will also learn from guest speakers and make use of multimedia resources including videotapes, audiotapes, and slides. Our primary goal in this case study will be to answer the question, "Who are the Creeks?" This is not so much a course on tribal history, at least not in the sense that it is limited to the study of a unilinear chronology of documented and remembered events, as it is a course on the nature of tribal identity and on the different ways in which tribal members, outside observers, and academic scholars attempt to understand and to interpret this identity in the context of American society.

The case study will provide us with the opportunity to consider a wide range of theoretical and methodological questions about Native American tribal histories. Some of the themes we will discuss include: nationalism and ethnicity; social constructions of "tribe" and "history"; cultural perceptions of historiography; authorship, authority and authenticity; oral traditions and documentary history; worldview and interpretation; and representations of cultural identity. Students will employ insights gained from the case study in their own tribal history research projects.

This is not an introductory-level course; enrollment preference will be given to students who have completed American Studies 80B (The Native American Experience) or comparable course work in Native American studies, or who have had first-hand experiences with Native American communities.

Please note: the structure of this course has been revised slightly since the original catalog description was submitted, but we will still be covering all of the themes suggested in that description.



## Course Texts

This course has one required course text (below), which is available at Bay Tree Bookstore, and one required course reader, which is available at the UCSC Copy Center. The text and the reader are both also on reserve at McHenry Library.

Calvin Martin (ed.). The American Indian and the Problem of History. New York: Oxford, 1987.

## Course Objectives

Students in this course will

- (1) consider theoretical and cross-cultural perspectives on the idea of "history" and learn research methodologies useful for writing tribal/ethnic/national histories;
- (2) learn about Native American history and culture by focusing on an in-depth case study of one particular tribal nation, the Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma;
- (3) develop skills in textual criticism while reading a wide range of historical source materials on Muscogee tribal history;
- (4) participate in collaborative learning experiences in the classroom and outside of class;
- (5) refine their abilities to conduct academic research by working with documentary resources, scholarly interpretations, multimedia materials, and oral testimonies; and
- (6) work with tribal representatives in preparing bibliographic materials for use in education and public relations.

## Course Requirements

Each student in this course will be required to:

- (1) complete the assigned readings, attend class regularly, and participate in class and small group discussions and exercises;
- (2) collaborate with one or two other students in initiating the class discussion of the readings on one occasion;
- (3) submit weekly progress reports on the assigned readings and the research project; and
- (4) initiate and complete an original, substantive research project on a Native American tribal history, and submit all research project assignments in a timely fashion.

Each student will be evaluated on the basis of her/his class participation (preparation, attendance, discussion, collaboration), weekly progress reports, and research project (preliminary bibliography, interview synopsis, historical outline, oral presentation, written report).

### **Progress Reports**

Progress reports are due at the beginning of the Tuesday class meeting each week, starting with the second week of class and continuing through the eighth week of class (seven reports total). Each report should be 2-3 pages in length and may be typed or handwritten in a neat and legible format.

Each progress report should include two sections: (1) a summary of your critical response to the assigned readings, and (2) a summary of your work on the research project. You may want to consider the following general questions while preparing each progress report.

**(1) Assigned readings:**

What did you learn about Creek history that gives you better insight into the Native American experience?

What did you learn about historical methodology that is useful in your research?

**(2) Research project:**

What surprising or interesting discoveries did you make about the tribal nation you are studying?

What substantive progress did you make toward being able to complete the written report?

You may also use the progress reports to discuss any questions, concerns, or problems you have regarding the assigned readings, your research project, or the course in general.

### **Research Project**

This course is a research seminar; the primary course assignment is the research project. Each student will engage in a detailed study of one particular Native American tribal nation. Research topics will be determined by the end of the second week of the quarter, when students will be organized into research groups focusing on historically, culturally, or geographically related tribal nations. Each research project will

incorporate a range of bibliographic resources (primary documents, popular and scholarly interpretations, and non-literary "texts"); in addition, each student must conduct at least one conversation/interview with an individual who is affiliated with the tribal nation in some way.

Research project schedule:

class 4	Topic due
class 6	Preliminary Bibliography due
class 8	Interview Synopsis due
class 14	Historical Outline due
class 15-18	Oral Presentations in class
class 20	Written Report due

## Course Schedule

### Course Introductions

#### Native American Tribal Histories

##### Community, Time, and Interpretation

Calvin Martin (ed.), The American Indian and the Problem of History (New York: Oxford, 1987), Preface-97.

#### The Muscogee (Creek) Nation Today

##### Tribal Identity in American Society

Calvin Martin, 98-155.

Principal Chief Bill Fife, "A Time of Change," condensed version of Inaugural Address delivered January 4, 1992, Muscogee Nation News 21/1 (January 1992).

"1993 Festival offers more events and fun for everyone than ever," Muscogee Nation News, June 1993.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Setting American Straight: Creek produces radio series to counter Columbus hype," Muscogee Nation News 20/10 (October 1991), 1, 15.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Kv'be Cv'fke: Mvskoko grandmother carries on dying tradition," Muscogee Nation News, April 1992.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Wild onion season upon us," Muscogee Nation News 20/3 (March 1991), 1, 10.

James H. Howard, Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicines, Magic, and Religion (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1984), xv-xxiv, 122-66.

#### Este Mvskoke, The Muscogee People

##### Origins, Traditions, Worldviews, Languages

Calvin Martin, 156-220.

Edgar Legare Pennington (ed.), "Some Ancient Georgia Indian Lore," Georgia Historical Quarterly 15 (1931), 192-98.

John R. Swanton, "Tokulki of Tulsa," in American Indian Life, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922), 127-45, 393-94, 416.

"Lullaby," in The Sacred Path: Spells, Prayers and Power Songs of the American Indians, edited by John Bierhorst (New York: William Morrow, 1983), 26.

R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge, English and Muskokee Dictionary (Okmulgee, OK: Baptist Home Mission Board, 1964 [reprint]), 92-93.

W. S. Robertson and David Winslett, Na kcokv es Kerretu Enhvteceskv (Muskokee or Creek First Reader) (Okmulgee, OK: Baptist Home Mission Board, 1963 [reprint]), 2-3, 13-15.

Henry O. Harwell and Delores T. Harwell, The Creek Verb (Muskogee, OK: Indian University Press, 1981), 2-7, 13-15.

William Harjo (Thomas E. Moore), Sour Sofkee (Muskogee, OK: Hoffman Printing, 1983), Preface-5.

### The Muscogees and European Colonialism, 1539-1783 Britain, Spain, France, and the United States

Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1989), xv-xviii, 20-23, 119-37.

J. Leitch Wright, Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1986), ix-xv, 1-20.

### The Emergence of the Muscogee Confederacy, 1783-93 Alexander McGillivray

Wright, 73-99.

R. S. Cotterill, The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1954), ix-x, 57-99.

### The Muscogee Civil War, 1813-14 Red Sticks

Joel W. Martin, Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World (Boston: Beacon, 1991), 114-68.

Carl Waldman, Atlas of the North American Indian (New York: Facts on File, 1985), 120-22.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1814," in Treaties and Agreements of the Five Civilized Tribes (Washington: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, no date), 206-9.

### The Muscogee Migration, 1828-37 Removal to Indian Territory

Elizabeth Sullivan, Indian Legends of the Trail of Tears and Other Creek Stories (Oklahoma?: Elizabeth Sullivan, 1974), Introduction-7.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1832," in Treaties and Agreements, 222-24.

Michael D. Green, The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982), xi-xiii, 174-87.

Morris, 18, 23, 26, 33, 55, 59.

### The Muscogees in the Twentieth Century, 1907-71 Cultural Resistance

Donald E. Green, The Creek People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1973), 88-99.

Muriel H. Wright, "Yuchi," in A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1951), 264-69.

Gunter Wagner, Yuchi Tales, Publications of the American Ethnological Society 13 (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1931), viii-x, 188-203.

William Harjo, 14-21.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Veterans tribute: World War II prisoner recalls his sacrifice for freedom," Muscogee Nation News, November 1991, 6-7.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Muscogee war hero inducted into Broken Arrow Hall of Fame," "Seek, Strike, Destroy," and "Creek woman served in U.S. Navy WAVES," Muscogee Nation News, November 1992.

"Creek Tribe Fights for Elected Tribal Government," Indian Voices, June 1965, 3-4.

Clifton Hill, "Creek Leader Makes Policy Statement," Indian Voices, December 1965, 16-17.

Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Dell, 1968), 110-15.

### The Reemergence of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1971-94 Tribal Sovereignty and Self-determination

Muscogee (Creek) Nation, an ancient partnership: the energy of the Soil . . . the energy of the Muscogee people . . ., 17 pp. brochure, ca. 1980.

The Muscogee Creek Nation Directory of Services 1993-94, 19 pp. brochure.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Tribal towns appoint executive secretary, OK expense ordinance" and "About the Mvskokulke Etulwa Etelaketa," Muscogee Nation News, August 1990, 14.

Donald L. Fixico, "Sovereignty Revitalized," in Nabokov, 420-23.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Thlopthlocco elects its leaders," "'Standing votes' decide winners," and "The evolution of Thlopthlocco," Muscogee Nation News, February 1991, 6, 16, 17.

George Stiggins, Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians, edited by Virginia Pounds Brown (Birmingham, AB: Birmingham Public Library, 1989), 13-25, 51-68.

## The Muscogeese and the U. S. Civil War, 1861-65 Loyal Creeks and Southern Creeks

W. David Baird (ed.), A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), xi-xvii, 3-11, 32-72.

John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," in Forty-Second Annual Report of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924-25 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 31-33, 242-47.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1866," Treaties and Agreements, 239-44.

## The Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1867-1899 Constitutional Government

Sharon A. Fife, "Baptist Indian Church: Thlewarle Mekko Sapkv Coko," Chronicles of Oklahoma 48/4 (Winter 1970-71), 450-466.

Pu Pucase Momet Pu Hesayecv Cesys Klist En Testament Mucysat (Muskokee New Testament) (New York: American Bible Society, 1979), 1-9.

Creek hymns

Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1941), vii-xiii, 285-323.

John W. Morris, et al, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, 3rd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1986), 40-41.

## The Muscogeese and Oklahoma Statehood, 1899-1907 Allotment and Dispossession

Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes (Princeton: Princeton University, 1940), ix-xii, 92-158.

"Agreement with the Creek Nation, September 27, 1897," Treaties and Agreements, 248-52.

"The Plea of Crazy Snake," in A Short History of the Indians of the United States, Edward H. Spicer (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1969), 165-70.

Alexander Posey, "Big Man's Rules and Laws," in Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992, edited by Peter Nabokov (New York: Viking, 1991), 263-65.

Waldman, 181.

## Tribal History and Tribal Survival

### Contemporary Creek Literature and Art

Louis Oliver, The Horned Snake (Merrick, NY: Cross-Cultural Communications, 1982), 8-11, 16;  
Chasers of the Sun: Creek Indian Thoughts (Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press, 1990), 3-13, 20-21, 35-37, 41, 45-46, 48-49, 52-61.

Joy Harjo, "Ordinary Spirit," in I Tell You Now: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers, edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 263-70;  
What Moon Drove Me to This? (New York: I. Reed, 1979), 5, 14, 18, 35, 37, 46-48, 61, 64, 67; She Had Some Horses (New York: Thunder's Mouth, 1983), 25-26, 32, 40, 42-44, 63-64, 68-69; In Mad Love and War (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1990), 1, 14-15, 30, 47-48, 57-58.

Jamake Highwater, Song from the Earth: American Indian Painting (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976), 71, 97 (Acee Blue Eagle); 107, 164-68 (Fred Beaver); 108 (Jerome Tiger); 133 (Johnny Tiger); 128 (Joan Hill).

Paintings by Joan Hill: An Exhibition, May 16-June 30, 1993, 6 pp. brochure (Anadarko, OK: Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, 1993)

Stephanie Berryhill, "Creek artist revives material Mvskoke culture," Muscogee Nation News 21/2 (February 1992), 1, 11.

### Class Presentations

### Course Conclusions

### Course Evaluations



Teaching Tribal/Reservation History ON the Reservation:  
The Community and the Classroom Together

by  
Paul Robertson  
Oglala Lakota College

At the final meeting of our Power and Community class we hosted a guest panel to discuss the 1973 Occupation of Wounded Knee.<sup>1</sup> The students in the graduate course, offered by the Manager As Warrior Program at Oglala Lakota College, chose a range of panelists who had been involved in, or touched by, the Occupation. We settled on five people, all of whom reside here on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota.

The panel included an Oglala man who supported then Oglala Sioux Tribal President Richard Wilson and who was a member of the GOON squad; an Oglala woman who supported the Occupation and who was inside Wounded Knee; a man who did not take sides and who, with his family, became a refugee from Wounded Knee village during the Occupation; the man who preceded Wilson as president and who was the Treasurer in Wilson's second term; and an American Indian Movement (AIM) member who is a member of another tribe in South Dakota, and who was inside Wounded Knee during the Occupation.

The panel discussion lasted three hours and was facilitated by one of the students. A meal provided by the class followed and the evening concluded with a viewing of "Incident At Oglala,"

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<sup>1</sup> The 1973 Occupation of Wounded Knee Village by Oglalas and American Indian Movement (AIM) members from a number of different tribes dramatized the continuing dream of some Oglalas, and of other Indian people, for freedom and for the right to define themselves as separate sovereign nations. The U.S. government responded to the Occupation by surrounding the village with BIA police, federal marshals, and National Guardsmen. Armored personnel carriers were brought in and jet planes flew overhead. The siege lasted 73 days. The principal demands of the traditional Oglala leaders and of the AIM leadership was recognition as a sovereign Oglala nation under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty (cf. Cornell 1988:4; Deloria and Lytle 1984:241; Jorgensen 1976:36; Talbot 1979).

a documentary of the trials of AIM members indicted for the 1975 murders of FBI agents Coler and Williams during a shoot out at the Jumping Bull Compound on the west side of the reservation.

The panel was the highlight of the semester. There were questions from all of the students and from some of the family members and friends who had accompanied them. The occasion was powerful partly because of the subject matter. The events of that time were writ so large and are still so close that merely broaching them often brings up vivid recollections and powerful feelings.

One panelist was twice in tears at recollections of the hardships they faced inside Wounded Knee, at recalling her grandmother's suffering there, and at remembering the deaths of Frank Clearwater and Buddy Lamont, two of the Native Americans occupying the village. One community member in attendance recounted the story of how Wilson supporters fired shots into her home in Pine Ridge Village, wounding one of her children. There was humor too--before one of the panelists had gone to Wounded Knee and joined the occupiers she had been dating another panelist, the Wilson supporter who manned one of the roadblocks to Wounded Knee. Together they recounted the story of how they would rendezvous and take his car to get food to take back to Wounded Knee. This pain and humor added to the learning experience.

That night we heard stories about the origin of AIM, of the origin and operation of the GOONS, of harassment by federal marshals and Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, and of the meetings of AIM and various local groups that were held at Calico

Community Hall in the weeks before the Occupation. We heard opinions about the role of outsiders and the U.S. government, about the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and about business interests that had been set on establishing a tourist attraction at Wounded Knee in the early 1970's and subsequent resistance to that proposal. We were able to get a close, personal look at how the events of Wounded Knee 1973 affected the lives of community members, to hear interpretations of those events by historical players, and to explore some recent history that is often painful and difficult to deal with in classes. A history that some people would rather forget, but that goes to the heart of power and community relations on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

By combining actual players in historical dramas and oral historians from the community with more standard approaches to local history, a number of objectives can be accomplished. For instance during the evenings of our panel on the Wounded Knee Occupation we heard much that was not in the assigned written accounts. Yet the written accounts, provided us with perspectives, and notions about what was significant about the Occupation and helped spark the dialogue. Most importantly, it was good to hear those who had been on opposing sides during the Occupation talking with each other.

This is only one example of teaching local history at Oglala Lakota College (OLC). It is an exciting proposition because of the opportunities it affords of bringing the community and the classroom together which validates the knowledge, beliefs, and experiences of community members. This college becomes less

insular because the curriculum and the practices followed in the classroom are more closely allied with local styles, interests, and problems. Before I draw upon other examples of teaching tribal/reservation history at OLC, I want to provide some information about the context and ideas that inform my work.

#### Pine Ridge Reservation and Oglala Lakota College

Nearly 20,000 Oglala Lakota live on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. The reservation was formed as a result of the Sioux Act of 1889. Under that act the U.S. government took about eleven million acres of the Great Sioux Nation reserve that was established by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and used the remainder to create seven Sioux reservations. The past century of colonial rule and the marginalization of the rural economy have left a legacy of economic, social and political problems. Life expectancy on Pine Ridge Reservation is 47 years while the unemployment rate is about 80%.<sup>2</sup> The Bureau of Indian Affairs continues to make important decisions affecting reservation communities without meaningful input from the people.

Oglala Lakota College was founded in 1871 and is currently one of 28 tribally controlled colleges. Enrollment has averaged over 1,000 students for the past few years with Oglalas making up over 90% of the student body. The average age of students is 27 years old and 70% of them are women. Classes are held in nine college centers spread across the 5,500 square miles of the reservation. About 70% of the 1,000 plus OLC graduates are

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<sup>2</sup>Shannon County, which forms the bulk of the reservation today, has the distinction of being listed as the poorest county in the United States in the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census.

employed on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Many work as teachers, teacher aides, counselors, program directors, social workers, and police officers. OLC's founders wanted to create an institution that could help create change on the reservation and that would promulgate the history and the culture of the people. They wanted to stop the use of education as a tool for assimilation and to use it instead to celebrate Lakota ways and to teach necessary skills and knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

OLC's current President Elgin Bad Wound expressed the goal of wedding pedagogy and politics in his recent paper on curriculum:

As opposed to a curriculum that prepares students for jobs or that enables students to transfer to four year post-secondary institutions. I intend to establish a line of thinking about the curriculum as a means of empowering students to assume an active role in the struggle for tribal self-determination (1991:1-2).

The same sentiments informed our department's recent name change from Human Services to Human Development and Social Justice. We are finding that the new title is quite a mouthful and we have endured some guffaws, but we are committed to the objectives it expresses. The change came about on the heels of a fairly intense process we have been going through in the past two years in an effort to comply with North Central Accrediting Association's requirements that we develop measurable student outcomes. We have taken up that charge by comparing our departments curriculum and our practices with the overall mission and purposes of Oglala Lakota College and with the vision

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<sup>3</sup> For nearly a century the major goal for the educational system on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was assimilation. Oglala Lakota students were forbidden to speak their mother tongue and their own cultural knowledge was denigrated while that of the colonist was elevated just as on other reservations.

expressed by the founders.

We have had to question some of our offerings, especially as they appear to be driven by textbooks, even though we attempt to infuse all of our courses with what is glossed at OLC as the Lakota perspective. We feel that some of the undergraduate courses that we have designed specifically with the reservation situation in mind, courses like "Reservation Development and Organization," "Participatory Research," and "Child Abuse and Neglect in the Reservation Context," are closer to the mark. In those classes we do more to involve students with community. Some of what we do is reminiscent of the Power and Community class sessions on the Wounded Knee Occupation; other classes go beyond that, involving students and faculty in more extensive research in the community and in action for change. We think that in order to prepare students to play an active role in the struggle for tribal self-determination upon graduation, we should provide them with an experience that joins education and community organization so that they will have some sense of what being change makers involves.

In my classes, students regularly interview community members, officials in local bureaucracies, and tribal politicians. Last semester students in the Reservation Development and Organization class conducted work history interviews with community members. They interviewed parents, relatives, friends, and co-workers. In the process they discovered much that they did not know and much that is not written in books. They shared the knowledge amongst themselves and with the reservation community in a well received and

enjoyable three hour broadcast over KILI Radio (the Indian-controlled radio station here on Pine Ridge Reservation).

In this class, students discovered they could do original research that was of community interest and that they did not have to rely solely on texts mostly written by outsiders to learn about their history. Thus by reappropriating the people's knowledge, they affirmed themselves and local history and culture. The students enjoyed doing the interviews and most of them spent more time than they would have simply to complete the questions on the guide. Moreover, there was a willingness to talk and to share stories that they had only previously heard bits and pieces of.

Interviews often stimulate further interest. Several conducted follow-up interviews and others interviewed several people, even though the assignment required only one. Most students were surprised by what they learned. Some were unaware of how their parents and their ancestors had toiled in the potato fields of Nebraska and in the beet fields of Colorado. One woman, who had always been close to her mother, discovered that her mother had gone to California as part of the BIA relocation project. Others heard for the first time the hopes and dreams that community members had entertained in their youth. By studying local history through interviews students enter into dialog with community members about things that are important to them and can identify more closely with them.

Another class at OLC gets students actively involved in both research and action. The idea is to join education and organizing, one of the precepts of Participatory Action Research

and of some forms of popular education (Barndt 1991:127; Gianotten and de Wit 1991:64). The objective of our "Introduction to Participatory Research" course is to plan and conduct research on a problem that affects the community and to participate in some action aimed at addressing the problem. This semester students are working singly and in pairs to research a number of problems involving the reservation land base. The class begins with an overview of the history of treaties, federal legislation, and court decisions that have affected local land tenure patterns, and then progresses to interviewing community members about the land and about problems they may have experienced in the use of it.

Many of the stories students collected dealt with problems related to heirship fractionalization and about the unresponsiveness of the BIA and OST officials to people's request for help. One interviewee said she sold her land, fearing that it would escheat to the tribe upon her death, rather than go to her children. Several others expressed their fear of losing their land to the tribe through the escheat provision of the Indian Land Consolidation Act (ILCA).<sup>4</sup>

I feel that my only option to prevent this from happening is to will my land to one of my children, so that it will not be divided equally between them and not take any chance of losing my land to the tribe. I don't think that I should be forced to make that decision, but I guess that I have to. Can you imagine what a burden that is? I will probably have to sit down with my children and talk about this so that they can help me in deciding which one of them I should leave my land to. The last thing I would ever want to

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<sup>4</sup> ILCA took effect in January of 1983 and was an attempt to deal with the problem of increasing fragmentation of Indian lands through heirship. It provides that upon death, of a person owning trust land would escheat (i.e., would become the property of) to the tribe if it represented 21 or less of a given tract of land and if it did not earn the dependent \$100 or more in the two years previous to death.



do is to hurt one of them. . . People should not have to fear their tribe taking their land away from them.  
(70 year old Lakota man)

Two students are researching ILCA. One of the first things discovered was a case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1987 that the escheat provision of ILCA represented an unconstitutional removal of land. The three plaintiffs were Oglala Sioux Tribal members which a student plans on interviewing while another is investigating whether or not ILCA is still being implemented in spite of it being declared unconstitutional.

Another common problem expressed by interviewees is the conflicts that arise among family members who jointly own a single, undivided tract of land. Undivided heirship land often divides people. In one interview a Lakota elder described a painful rift that occurred in her family. When her mother died her land passed to herself and five brothers and sisters. They all lived on the land and grew up there, but now they could not agree on who could use which piece of the land for a home and garden. Eventually they took sides against one another and the disagreement was so bad that she left the place of her birth and childhood with two of her sisters and moved to Pine Ridge Village--to this day the brothers and sisters have never reconciled.

Through such stories the class could better understand the legacy of federal policy and administration on the reservation land base and the often heard comments that the government has played a role in breaking up families and communities. As a class project, two students are researching the Bureau of Indian Affairs' policy on partitioning of undivided heirship land and

they have found out that the agency has refused to partition land on Pine Ridge Reservation unless every heir agrees. However, they have also found out that some agencies regularly partition land if 50% or more of the heirs request it and are now examining court cases bearing on this issue.

Other land base related projects students are researching this semester include discovering the procedures for getting a 2.5 acre assignment to build a home and making a will for one's land, examining why people encounter difficulties when they attempt to consolidate small fragments of land to exchange it with the Oglala Sioux Tribe for a contiguous parcel, and understanding what the interests of Lakota landowners associations have been and identifying the concerns among those who have recently attempted to start them again. Other research topics include: understanding what role could the community play about a BIA road that is being made in Porcupine and Wounded Knee Districts, strategizing how a community can keep a sewage lagoon from being constructed within 700 feet of a clustered housing complex in one of the districts and understanding why community people have been excluded from decisions regarding the location of a sanitary landfill site that is supposed to serve the entire Pine Ridge Reservation this year.

Students had little knowledge of the problems people have had with land and they have been surprised, angry, confused and concerned about what their findings tell them about reservation history and about the power structure. The stories students gathered through their interviews have led us to a deeper understanding of how the lives of local people intersect with

reservation history; they underscore the human cost of the policies that Indian people have been saddled with.

Conclusions the class has made thus far are that people need more information about their rights concerning the land, that decisions about public land use (as in the case of the lagoon, the sanitary landfill and the road) are made without public participation, that the agencies involved are secretive and unwilling to share information that should be public, that the Indian Reorganization Act government (the OST) is not adequately addressing the land issue, that many people are angry about the land situation, and that something should be done so that people can have more control over what happens to the land base.

Students in the class want their research to count for something; they hope that it will be useful for individual tribal members and perhaps for groups that are already working on some of the land issues that affect local communities. They plan to publish their results and distribute them across the reservation, but first they will do a broadcast over KILI Radio to discuss their research and their proposed publication.

To conclude, let me just add that my teaching has been especially influenced by the ideas of Paulo Friere and Myles Horton, both of whom stressed a dialogical, problem-posing approach to education. Their work emphasizes democratic teaching styles, considers learning and doing a dialectical process and insists on the worth of people's knowledge (Friere 1970; Horton 1990). I believe those principles can be used to create a space where local culture and history are affirmed and where transcendence becomes part of the language of the possible.

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## Teaching Tribal/Reservation History to the Masses

by  
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University of Minnesota

The University of Minnesota is by no means unique as a large research university that has recently instituted undergraduate requirements to do course work in cultural diversity.

Acknowledgement of the centrality of cultural pluralism in United States history and contemporary society has led to a fundamental restructuring of undergraduate core curriculums. Given the renewed fascination with anything Native American in popular culture, it is not at all surprising that large constituencies have been built for core courses in Native American history. At the same time, backlash against the institutionalized attention to the pluralistic character of the United States has been politicized through the debate over "culture wars." These trends in undergraduate education present teachers of Native American history with tremendous opportunities as well as significant challenges.

What I want to do in this essay is to address some of the issues inherent in this situation by describing my own experience in teaching Native American history to undergraduate students at the University of Minnesota. During the course of our week-long seminar at Lac Courte Orielles, one of the things that struck me was the diversity of experiences seminar participants faced in their institutions with regard to student constituencies and curriculums. I found myself envying the small class sizes of other educators and the opportunity of many to offer innovative and specialized courses with impressively original pedagogy. One

of the benefits I reaped was the chance to hear about different teaching strategies that I hope I will be able to incorporate for use in my own classroom. Yet many of us are faced with the problem of incorporating local Indian history into broad introductory courses in a large lecture hall.

The American Indian Studies Department at the University of Minnesota was founded in 1969. We currently serve 69 Indian and non-Indian undergraduate majors and 20 minors, as well as a large number of students who elect to fulfill their cultural diversity requirements with courses in Native American studies. Our curriculum includes three-year language programs in Ojibwe Dakota as well as a range of courses in methods, Ojibwe and Dakota history and culture, Native American art and literature, Native Americans in cinema, American Indian philosophies, plus, more irregularly, courses in education, policy, and the law. Educators in our department include Thomas King (Cherokee), Carol Miller (Cherokee), Collins Oakgrove (Red Lake Ojibwe), Carrie Schommer (Dakota), Ron Libertus (Leech Lake Ojibwe), and Gary Cavender (Dakota). We also rely on temporary appointments each year to expand our offerings.

My principal role in our curriculum is to offer on an annual basis a two-quarter upper division survey in Native American history, until 1830. Since only grading assistance is provided for these courses, I limit their enrollment to 175 students per quarter. This large-scale format, in many ways generated by cultural diversity requirements, automatically introduces constraints in teaching approaches.

An assessment of the background and expertise of the

audience seems crucial in developing an approach to these courses. I begin each quarter with a short questionnaire designed to give me a better sense of what students are bringing into the classroom. Typically students are overwhelmingly juniors and seniors, they represent between 60 and 75 different majors, at least 50% are only there in order to satisfy graduation requirements, and fewer than 30% can name an American Indian who lived before 1830. Perhaps 10% in any given quarter are Indian Studies majors or minors, and slightly more have taken at least one other Indian Studies course in their entire lives. Student attitudes towards the course range from displeasure that they're required to take this kind of course, to indifference, to unbridled passion for Native American history.

Several challenges arise because of this very mixed audience. Among the questions I strive to keep in mind are the following: How do you simultaneously meet the needs of students with virtually no background and at the same time stimulate those who already know a great deal? How do you engage the interests of those who are simply "passing through" (often hoping to do the absolute minimum just to get by) while involving more experienced students in a meaningful educational experience? How do you create an active learning environment in a situation that almost dictates a passive, lecture-style pedagogy?

I set some very basic overall goals that I hope to achieve through these two courses. Realistically, all that one can hope to do in two ten-week quarters is to provide a general overview of Native American history that constantly reminds the students of the cultural diversity and complexity of hundreds of Native

American histories. I try to focus on the attitudes and stereotypes students bring with them into the classroom and underscore this issue by calling attention to this process as a historical problem. I emphasize cultural interaction and change between Indian peoples as well as between Indians and Europeans/Euro-Americans. I stress cultural change as normative, in an effort to counteract the astonishing tenacious assumption that the only real Indian is the Indian that never changed. I try to balance examinations of Native American histories with a sense of how the past connects to the present. In moments of oversimplification, I tell them that if they get nothing else out of a course, I hope that they'll at least be able to read newspaper accounts of Native American events with a more critical understanding.

These courses are designed as sweeping overviews, but I narrow them to focus mostly on what became of the United States and I include local Indian history as a central element of the course material. Instead of using a text book, I use an anthology of documents for each quarter and three monographs in addition to a selection of articles. James Axtell's The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes works very well for the first quarter of the sequence and allows for a wide range of paper topics. Students love Peter Nabokov's Native American Testimony, which also lends itself well to writing assignments. For the second quarter I use Ignatia Broker's Ojibwe oral history Night Flying Woman and Gary Anderson's history of the Dakota Conflict, Little Crow, so the students focus on the Indian history of their region. I have



also considered using William Warren's History of the Ojibwe People (though those who take specialized courses in the department are usually assigned that book) or Gary Anderson and Alan Woolworth's document collection Through Dakota Eyes. Learning about local Indian history generally stimulates even those who will never take another Indian Studies course.

It is difficult to avoid a lecture-style pedagogy in such large courses, and I am uncomfortable with such a passive approach. On the first day of class I tell my students that with their help, we can avoid the monotony of this format. I ask them to interrupt me with questions or comments at any time which I've found often stimulates a conversation that covers virtually everything you want to get at. When this happens, I often turn the tables and ask them questions that help them reason out and put together in their minds information with which they're struggling. I also schedule whole class periods that are devoted entirely to discussion of a specific book, and I make it clear they have responsibility for making these conversations work. Another exercise that works well is to give them a document to consider in small groups, then get the class to regroup and discuss their reactions. Films, of course, are another natural way to break the lecture format and stimulate active responses: "Clouded Land", a documentary about land claims at White Earth Reservation, always provokes lively debates. I find that when I can help a conversation get underway and continue, they take responsibility for their own learning and feel comfortable developing and arguing their own ideas. I insist that students respect each other's ideas in debates.

Invariably, many students in these courses feel fundamentally challenged by an enormous amount of material which they've never encountered, histories to which they've never been exposed, accounts of the past not easily reconciled with the history they've been taught, new knowledge like terminology, names, places and incredible exam anxiety. Some of them authentically do not know where to begin in studying for an exam. I try to help alleviate these problems by providing study guides for short answer and essay questions that will appear on the exam. I give them the option of review sessions: the catch is that they discuss the material with only guidance from me. They're expected to walk into the classroom virtually ready to take the exam and use the discussion to refine their understanding.

Teaching these high enrollment courses is always an exhausting yet gratifying experience. For most students with a more substantial background, the courses offer a different perspective than they've been exposed to before. Some of these students confer with me regularly and do additional reading to enhance their experience. Some students who enroll only to earn the credit put in the minimum and remain relatively indifferent. Most, however, report an overwhelmingly positive response to what is often their first intensive exposure to Native American history and decide to do more course work, more reading, or even to write a senior thesis on a topic relative to Native Americans. It is not unusual to get back student evaluations that express deep emotions. When a student expresses astonishment that they've never been taught this history before, and deep

satisfaction for what they've learned, the challenges feel very worthwhile.

## "What is A Syllabus?"

by  
Kimberly Calvillo  
Nebraska Indian College

The style of this paper belongs to writer Meridel Le Sueur, journalist, poet, novelist, activist and political reformer. She speaks directly to central issues pertinent to Native American philosophy in her writings, interviews and lectures. Her styles, developed over sixty-five years of writing, incorporate new narrative approaches with regard to literal statements, sequential reporting and chronological information gathering. She interweaves time and images to create a matrix, a new form, a web of relationships utilizing parallel thought. These parallels take shape in the three parallel columns of writing on the following pages. There is no barrier to time and space, no obstruction between the observer and the observed, nor between narrator and story. (See The Dread Road, Meridel Le Sueur, West End Press, Albuquerque, 1991.)

I have made application of this style to the demands of academic writing, hoping to devote my energies toward replacing linear, conventional narrative sequences with the beautiful spirals and circular thinking of the People. There are multiple layers of meaning required in this circular thinking and in this inter-relatedness of all beings. There is movement within a cycle--a harmony of the intellectual, emotional, physical and spiritual that I cannot bridge when using linear forms.

I wish to thank my classmates, students and teachers, many who are one and the same, who help me challenge myself in my thinking, teaching and writing. I wish to say thank you

especially to the generous individuals who gave of their time and spirit at Lac Courte Orielles, Red Cliffs and Madeline Island. I wish to say pidamayaye, wopida, wi'bthahon, peena-gee-gee y muchisimas gracias a todos mi familias.

"Many of the white man's ways are past our understanding.... They put great store upon writing; there is always a paper..."

"It is a good idea to distribute and to discuss the course syllabus on the first day...Although instruction differ in what they include in the course syllabus, it is helpful to include all of the following:

Title and number of courses  
Number of credit hours  
Starting and ending dates  
Instructor's name  
Telephone numbers  
Division chair's name and phone  
Course objectives  
Topical Outlines of subject  
Required texts, readings  
Instructor's office hours  
Prerequisites  
Assignments and due dates  
Attendance policy  
Plagiarism policy  
Grading policy and procedures  
Extra Credit policy  
Special rules of classroom  
Course schedule:  
dates for topics, assignments and examinations  
In reviewing the course syllabus and mechanics, students become aware of the expectations and requirements of the course. In addition, it gives them some notion of

the kind of person you are."<sup>2</sup>  
It is mid-morning on the lawn of the house of the Cho-ka with whom we are wishing to speak. This is very delicate. We are laughing and joking sitting outside on the lawn-actually it is not even a lawn-only a wide expanse of long bunch grass with waves of gravel and tar paper and busted concrete and asphalt. We are trying to act everyday, ordinary, innocent and nonchalant. We are laughing and testing our Injunuity figuring out how to throw a crabby cousin off the trail of one blood kin and one half blood kin. My corpuscles are lining up for inspection from their distant depths:

Me: Suppose I go around back. If he catches me, I could pretend I'm coming to read the meter.

Hee-Noo: Yeah. I could pretend I was the flashlight.

Whereupon the cousin in question comes out of the Cho-Ka house at a dogtrot, standing alongside the many early model sedans, pick-up trucks and station wagons that are parked between us. He sees us lounging outdoors in womanly repose, plotting. We are hoping he is preparing to drive away. Instead, he curls his lips at us and goes back into the house we have been patiently staking out for the past two days. We scream with

more laughter, uproarious and slapstick. Relatives driving by stare at us from their open car windows. Other in neighboring houses peek at us from behind their kitchen doors. What is all this fuss?

Tunkasida. Mah-una.  
Wakonda.

The ever present ever near. I pray for guidance as I struggle with these words I put on paper. This creates a dislocation in my thinking and a reduction of the meaning our languages express. I apologize to my elders for speaking carelessly and out of turn. This divides me, knowing that many other are far more knowledgeable than I regarding symbolism, wisdom and tact. I ask to be given a clear mind so that I may think the good, hear the good, see the good and speak the good.

That deep sense of courtesy, of the unseen, light and the elements. She tried to tell him what she saw. She even took him to the place where she saw the light. But he could not see it like she saw it. He saw dark places where she saw light.

"Thus the Indian is reconstructed, as natural rocks are ground to powder and made into artificial blocks that may be built into the walls of modern society."<sup>3</sup>

"The disparity between the research training and the Ph.D students who become the next generation of faculty and the need for those new faculty to teach has lead to increased dissatisfaction among the deans and department chairs who hire them. The on-the-job activities of new faculty members call for knowledge and skills not inherent in the standard Ph.D program."<sup>4</sup>

As months passed over me, I slowly comprehended that the large army of white teachers in Indian Schools had a larger missionary creed than I had suspected. It was one which included self-preservation quite as much as Indian education. When I saw an opium-eater holding a position as teacher of Indians, I did not understand what good was expected, until a Christian in power replied that this pumpkin-colored creature had a feeble mother to support."<sup>5</sup>

"While there are innumerable teachers who are as genuine and as generous in their attitudes toward students as it is

impossible for a human being to be, there are also many others who are punitive. The beginning of syllabus writing emerges from the relationships I have with what has come before me. Questions asked and already formed, others unasked and unformed: What am I supposed to teach? Who am I teaching? What am I to emphasize? How much detail will I offer?

I struggle to define my intentions. There is a temptation to over describe, omit basic facts, dilute content and completely miss the point. So my elders, one in particular, tells me and Hee-Noo, later, much later:

These little syllables have meaning. You are supposed to speak the truth in a state of humbleness, not the so-called expert--be an all-around person.

It takes 9 guys 2 weeks to build a porch? How long can you talk about a nail?

What is written on the skin is traditional if you really follow it up and get fired up about speaking the truth. Too much wasted time and a lot of waking up to do. Quit talking about it. I think out loud.

I sold my coat then, when I needed books for school. I rode the train and when I got there I walked bravely into the crowd. I could have eaten a 2x4 like a candy

bar.

Did I tell you that Alka Seltzer story? About when Henry had the bad stomach and the doctors gave him alka-Seltzer. He never saw them before. Ate them just like crackers, then drank down a couple slugs of water. Fizzed back up his throat clear up to his nostrils and he told me, "Now they are trying to fizzle my brain away."

He did not speak the language of the conquistadors--even as he made his way to their cathedrals. Here on these hillsides in this world of frozen ground, these winters that chart time, ice is snapping off the tree limbs--the terrible issues of wind and frozen water. There is a young woman who beckons the good mind.

I think of her. And the Obstetrics Department. The car ride at 4 a.m., the contractions and C-Section. Her baby boy. It being January. And a very hard time.

Or who unthinkingly carry out punitive practices. One general expression of hostility in the academic

world is to treat difficulty in learning as a kind of rebellion, which should be punished. There is also an undercurrent of hostility in intellectual snobbery. We are venting hostility when we feel contempt for people who are not as bright as ourselves or who, as we see it have academic wares that are inferior to our own."<sup>6</sup>

"I would read those books everyday. I would read the pages and the words were hard for me. I didn't know what they were supposed to mean, I didn't understand what I was supposed to learn. What all the rest of the people in class seemed to learn easily, or already know."

"When he was talking about liberal arts, I thought he meant drawing."<sup>8</sup>

"In academe, as in any culture of origin, many of the most sacrosanct practices remain unstated, unexamined and unacknowledged unless they are challenged by divergent beliefs from outside the dominant culture. For example: classroom engagement in competitive or assertive behavior; acceptance of grading curves by which one's gain is the other's loss; these are

likely to be in conflict with cultures that do not endorse individual success at the expense of one's peers or that value modesty over assertiveness."<sup>9</sup>

We are driving the 109 miles to our state capital city, Hee-Noo, her daughter and I. We stay overnight in a Continuing Education Building where we listen all day to federal and state agencies talk to our state-wide minority groups about economies, empowering our communities and discovering human resources. We are stoic and listen to this routine baloney because federal and state dollars are supporting them and us. We are in this runaway canoe together, but somehow, none of us have the necessary paddles and flotation devices.

At the beginning of the lecture, there are pictures of pieces of bread on the overhead projector. The government facilitator is explaining the classroom objectives of poverty: there are pictures of pretend bread to symbolize imaginary families of 4 who happen to gross less than \$9,000 a year. The sliding scale, I fear, spirals downward farther still for Indian families.

The government facilitator speaks of hosting a state legislative luncheon featuring government surplus commodities: sandwiches made from commodity peanut butter, stewed commodity tomatoes, sliced commodity cheese,

commodity peanuts and raisins, cling commodity peaches and commodity powdered milk beverage. We are assigned to invite state legislators and city politicians to experience poverty over their noon hour. Inside of three minutes, 3 Indians are in the Continuing Education Building parking lot furiously smoking cigarettes and devising methods of torture: B-52 saturation bombing, we have cousins in the Air Force. We click Bic lighters in semaphore code and smoke signals. We escape, instead, to the nearest Dairy Queen, pooling our per diem.

Did you say you are fixing a fence? No, It's a Fencing Club.

That's nice. Could you fix mine?

No, it's different. It's like swords.

Come over in the morning. At 10:00.

See, it's like coordination. And masks.



I'll cook breakfast before  
you start.

Bring some tools. Hammers  
It's like poking people with  
every sharp instruments.

"I don't think like that. I  
don't talk like that. My head  
don't work that way."<sup>10</sup>

"Teach my children. Teach them  
about vision and guts."<sup>11</sup>

"We live by the word."<sup>12</sup>

"Teach the people to think  
slow."<sup>13</sup>

"Our educational system is in a  
state of severe imbalance. In  
order to succeed, students must  
regurgitate facts. This is  
called intelligence. There are  
no opportunities for  
alternative intelligences."<sup>14</sup>

"Unfortunately, programs that  
award the Ph.D degree, the  
"union card" for faculty, have  
been designed predominantly to  
train graduate students to  
perform and value only one kind  
of scholarship: acquisition of  
new knowledge. Certainly the  
large majority of faculty who  
never publish anything during  
their careers, except that  
which comes out of their

dissertation research, shows of how  
little interest that type of  
scholars is to those who are forced  
to it."<sup>15</sup>

In the park next door, named  
for one of our favorite 4-legged, a  
group of police cadets are drilling  
in their bermuda shorts. Hee-Noo  
is instantly alert. She trains  
tribal police cadets as one of her  
many professions. She laughs out  
loud as one cadet consistently  
turns the opposite direction as his  
comrades: Company Left, he marches  
right. Company Right, he marches  
left. Company Halt, he keeps on  
marching. Just like Gomer Pyle,  
USMC. We laugh and laugh,  
outwitting for a moment the day's  
disease, and eating, quite likely,  
government subsidized surplus pork  
and dairy products.

Syllabus writing symbolizes chance,  
best guesses, experience, open  
pathways; and all of the successes,  
happenstance and failures combined  
create a life of the mind that live  
whole. It is a sharing of lives  
and visions. Intellect, ambition,  
hope and guidance swivel upon a  
hinge hat creates momentum  
indirections toward self: hinges of  
daily life fashioned from very  
simple things and always rooted in  
the heart.

Individuals, classrooms,  
lecture halls and households are  
encouraged to beckon and bestow  
words, songs, gestures and dances  
by which they communicate

recognition.

Content and pace reflect  
what is true and unique to  
that moment-hardly ever,  
until lately, found in  
books. Alone.

The heart spirits the  
content of the mind in  
simplicity, demonstration  
and repetition-with great  
care for long interludes of  
silence. The great Sinking  
In: That which belongs fully  
and completely to those who  
are assembled. And timing,  
knowing how to gauge a wave:  
that comes with the doing.

Heart of Earth. Heart of  
sky. What can you make that  
is intelligent, obedient and  
respectful: mud head people,  
wooden head people who abuse  
trees, rocks and grinding  
stones. There is a great  
flood and they are  
destroyed. Try again!

"The woman on the cover of  
that book is my  
Grandmother."<sup>16</sup>

"My background isn't Meso-  
American. I hardly know  
anything about Mayas. Now  
they are just poor Indians  
making ceramics in their own  
country. But my graduate  
advisor told me to go to  
Central America on the

chance I can excavate skeletons. You can hardly do that in this country anymore."<sup>17</sup>

"I am always nervous when I see their shopping malls and recreational places - their boats and yachts and campers. I thing: uh-oh. How many of our dead are buried beneath their golf courses? How many of our relatives pay for their vacations and entertainment."<sup>18</sup>

"Everything that happened to our family took place in that little house over there."<sup>19</sup>

"Sometimes the simplest things are the most powerful."<sup>20</sup>

I am alone this time traveling with another woman's children, introducing myself to the new neighborhood. I have apprenticed myself too brief a time with Hee-Noo, but figure the best lessons are yet to come. We drive down Thurston County roads, the twins and I, searching out our Ja-gees and De-gas and Ca-Cas and Na-Nees to help us with two week long schedules of classes on Winnebago culture.

I am gaining in appreciation for these men and women who create spaces in their lives for me to enter. We spend a longtime visiting,

hoeing corn, gathering mah-heench, doing laundry, tending fires and hauling wood. Jump starting vehicles. Buying gasoline. Mending screen doors. Retrieving lost tv antennas. Tending to families. Within these spaces I am shown, I am able to learn and to attach meaning. I inch toward interpretations. I meander around translations. There are many ways to build your heart:

The center is crucial. If you miss the center, the, well, you are where you are! The old folks tell of a time of grasses-they tell time from the color of grasses and also direction. What eyes they have to do that kind of seeing-to see white in green at certain meridian lengths, to see black, red and yellow, those subtle shades that lend to the cardinal directions as we travel by day.

In the center is the fire. that circle of heat and light that has been replaced too recently in sad imitation by the color tv set. But fire. It is fire that finds the center of the household. How has this changed in what we do at school? What are we leaving out? What are we accepting as pitiful substitutes?

This head of mine does not work anymore. When a person dies his people are frightened by bones, but his essence is in your sons and daughters, it follows their sons and daughters and in turn theirs.

On and on. See. Your children are already magicians!

"The crucial test in the search for meaning in education is the personal implication of what we learn and teach. It often seems to be assumed that a body of information is in itself meaningful."<sup>21</sup>

"You have to be out here for a while. Did you know plant chlorophyll has the exact molecular composition as human blood? Only one extra iron molecule is different. Pretty close kinfolk, I'd say. But looking and seeing are two completely different brain activities. Just when you think you know what something is, can name it and identify it, why, it isn't that at all. It is something else, entirely."<sup>22</sup>

"The problem may be that each are resisting the meaning of theory as it applies to themselves. Often when teachers look for a particular application-a method, a gimmick, a prescription, a rule of thumb-they are trying not to grasp, but to avoid the

meaning a theory might have for the...we like to externalize rather than internalize a theory. Our immediate response often is to become manipulative: to do something to someone else."<sup>23</sup>

It is raining and I am in darkness on the rez listening for drum beats and singing. I am very late for the dancing and I have all but run out of time and space to remember this-it takes at least a month to survive it. Well. The van. I can't believe I am driving this van. I do not own this van. I have left what is precious to me behind in darkness and rain to drive a van where there is no road. That I can see.

I am driving this van with a prominent juvenile who has made himself known to tribal police but who teaches me sweetly and straight forwardly how to drive this van in darkness and rain. This van has no lights. I do not know what gear I am in. Or my speed.

Certain details fix themselves in mind about the van owner:

-the banana peel on the dashboard. I bet that is all he has eaten in these four days. He would do that. Leave

it there for me to see and fret over.

-The De-gas driving to Walthill for spare parts.

-Is a spare part what is necessary for this van to function?

-I am parked on a steep incline with this van. There are two gas tanks on this vehicle. Are they both empty?

-Are empty tanks and broken fuel pumps symptomatic of this immobile van? Which is which trouble?

-He did this on purpose.

I am in the company of unfamiliar relatives who study me intently, who are likely to report my slightest move.

At the gas pumps, finally under electric lights I write checks.

We trade keys, the van owner and I. Something utmost has happened between us, registering later, much later.

You are supposed to be a good relative. You are supposed to show generosity in all things, show bravery, and fortitude. And wisdom.

Love one another.  
Pity each other  
Give 'em a break.

Long ago it happened: the little boy asked his Grandmother: Unci, why are all of these wasicu here killing us, taking our food, and doing such bad things? And the Grandmother replied: They don't know how to be relatives. So the Great Spirit has sent them here. To learn from us.

"I don't have no book to give you."<sup>24</sup>

"A vision is the mental journey from the known to the unknown. It is a picture of "what if" and "why not." It is the dream we have of "what might be", it is the dream we create of the future."<sup>25</sup>

"The Winnebago word for mother is the same as canoe: She brings the baby to shore."<sup>26</sup>

"Clear visions do not come quickly. They begin as parts in a jigsaw puzzle developing in our minds one piece at a time. A truly effective leader is a visionary who sees possibilities and

opportunity where others see only problems and difficulty. That is how productive visions are born."<sup>27</sup>

"My Dad says Many people have made themselves sick catching up to that clock. Give themselves heart attacks."<sup>28</sup>

"It's 4:10."<sup>29</sup>

"I go to school in your backyard."<sup>30</sup>

"Well. We used to have beach parties here. To get away from our parents."<sup>31</sup>

Anyone see my beach towel?  
Anyone.

In language, lodge building, food preparation, music, dance, hide tanning, featherwork, beadwork and clothing construction, the philosophy of center breathes in honor of above and below. We go toward the good life.

The storyteller sits out in the center under the beautiful arbor shade of willow branches placed overhead supported by oak saplings hewn into forked wedges. There is a perfect circle of shade at exactly the right time to hear the stories of BEARS.

Many grandparents are among Bears and many Bears are among grandparents. Creator is wise to do this and it is the story that tells itself:

Four Bears came to be as the earth was/is coming to be, four Bears who carry the good names, the reputations, the sounds of comfort and clarity helping humans making our way to life.

GOOD TRACKS is the first name of the One Who Knows the Way. We follow in this way, too, leaving a good path for all the rest. There will always be others following us.

WALKS FORWARD FROM CREATION is the second name of the One Who Came After. He is the giver of teachings and headings. We follow in this way, too, making comfort and wellness. We can see how pitiful we are.

GOOD MIND is the third name of the One With the Same Thoughts As Creator. He has the good thinking mind, no bad thoughts, no thoughts of evil or jealousy. This good thinking mind results in good deeds, good giving, and goodness in all life ways.

HARD TO SEE is the fourth name of the One Who Travels By Night. He has the knowledge of stars. As it is there, so it is here.

Mitakuye Owasin.

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## "My Course on Native American Women and What's Wrong With It"

by  
Roxanne Siert  
Nebraska Indian College

After reviewing curriculum for gender and race equity in the public schools for several years, it has become something I do regardless of what I read or view. Even the books my husband used for the classes he taught for Nebraska Indian Community College fell prey to this process. Race equity was not a major problem since most of the instructors had been well trained to infuse Native American culture into their curriculum and instruction. However, gender equity, or the representation of the history and contributions of Native American women, was virtually nonexistent in the materials I had the chance to review. Since 85% of the students at Nebraska Indian Community College at this particular time were females, this concerned me. I brought my concerns to the attention of the academic dean of the college, and it was decided that a course would be developed and I would teach it. Since the majority of my undergraduate and graduate studies had been in the areas of psychology and sociology, it was decided that this would be a sociology course.

My goal for this course was to discuss the roles, social relationships, culture, contributions and collective behavior of Native American women historically and presently. The course was to begin with a national focus and become more specific to tribes in our region. All I needed was a comprehensive text on Native American women from tribes all over America and a few additional texts about Winnebago, Omaha, Ponca and Sioux women. An easy task one would think, but not necessarily. In fact, it became

quite a challenge. The only comprehensive text I could find was a book entitled Daughters of the Earth, by Carolyn Niethammer. Although her introduction discusses the problem of stereotyping and inaccuracies made by early observers, I believe Niethammer is guilty of the same. She states that "although there were beautiful and powerful Indian Princesses like Pocahontas as well as some drudges in tribes in which women were treated poorly, the lives of the majority of Native American women fell midway between those two extremes"(xi). Yet little of the book deals with the midway, but rather those stereotyping extremes. Although the author makes an interesting attempt, I question the accuracy of the material presented. There is absolutely no comparison between Daughters of the Earth and books such as The Hidden Half, the latter was written by not only scholars but people who have lived the Native American experience. The sensitivity, respect and knowledge of the Native American history, culture, spirituality and language that is so vivid in Pat Albers' and Bea Medicine's book is not present in Carolyn Niethammer's.

In spite of the problems with Daughters of the Earth, I must confess I did use it for my first class and I also used The Hidden Half. If nothing else, it generated very meaningful discussion, motivated students to conduct research that would be more accurate and gave them the opportunity to compare the quality of various types of research.

In order to personalize the course to include tribal women in this area, The Hidden Half was used as our primary text. Students were also required to do additional readings out of The Winnebago Tribe, by Paul Radin and The Iron Eyes Family, which



focuses on the lives of the LaFlesche sisters who were Omaha. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to find much on Ponca women to incorporate into the course.

The class began in 1991 and seems to be evolving into more of what I had originally envisioned. We now begin the class by filling out a personal inventory sheet. It asks the students to list their three favorite females of color in the media when they were growing up and three favorite stories they read in school about females of color. Usually without exception students struggle with this assignment because females of color were virtually invisible in our society for years. We discuss possible reasons for this dilemma and ways of improving the availability of resources about women of color. I then give them a pre-test on their knowledge of Native American feminist history, culture and contributions. Although my students are almost all Native American females, they struggle even more with this assignment because it has never been a part of their formal education. A film entitled "Women of Color-Native American Women" is shown to the students. This film was produced by the Women's Education Equity Act Program through the United States Department of Education. It gives students an overview of Native American feminist history, statistics, issues and stereotypes. Students are asked to read the first two chapters of The Hidden Half. These chapters discuss the origin of stereotypes and how these stereotypes impacted research or the lack of it. According to Pat Albers, "Indian women are rarely visible as individuals or a category of people in the early journals of traders, missionaries, explorers and government agents. Often, these

journalistic accounts ignore the experiences of women, considering them too insignificant to merit special treatment. Or else, such writings denigrate and trivialize female activity. Some early writers went as far as to portray Indian women as chattel, enslaved as beasts of burden and beaten into submission by overbearing male masters"(3).

Katherine Wiest states a major component of why earlier travelers and traders defined Indians as savages was because of the position they perceived Native American women to be in and who they frequently referred to as "beasts of burden", "slaves", and "sexually lax". These same attitudes were also held by clergy, whose purpose it was to Christianize the Indians. Students are asked to read a selection from The Indian Peoples of Eastern America-A Documentary History of the Sexes to give them an example of this view. The selection is written by Gabriel Sagard, who served as a Jesuit missionary to the Hurons from 1611-1614. Sagard discusses Huron marriages and sexual practices in this selection thus perpetuating the stereotype of the "sexually lax squaw". Students also view the Canadian film "Black Robe" which is based upon Sagard's accounts of the time he spent with the Huron and Iroquois.

We discuss what the values of the 17th century priest might be and how that would impact his views of Native women. The status of European women during the same time period is discussed. The general consensus of the class is that Native women had more political and economical power and personal choice than their European counterparts.

The next phase of the course is devoted to the developmental

cycle of traditional Native women from birth through death. We begin this phase by reading the first half of Marla Powers' book Oglala Women which speaks to the historical traditional roles of girlhood, adolescence, womanhood and old age of Oglala women. In order to personalize this phase to our region, students also read about the developmental stages of the Winnebago from Paul Radin's book The Winnebago Tribe. Since the chapters in the above mentioned materials focus on the traditional roles of women, it's important to also expose students to the nontraditional roles Native women historically pursued. To emphasize this, students read two chapters in The Sacred Hoop entitled "Hwame, Koshkalaka and the Rest: Lesbians in American Cultures" and "When Women Throw Down Bundles." These chapters are not only devoted to the role of lesbians and gays in Native societies, but also women as political and spiritual leaders.

In the next phase of the course the varied roles of Native women are further emphasized as students have the opportunity to compare the role of men and women historically. Students read a selection from Iroquois Women by W.G. Spittal, which definitely dispels stereotypes formulated by early observers. A chapter from The American Indian-Past and Present by Roger L. Nichols entitled "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women" is included in this phase along with further readings from Oglala Women and The Hidden Half. These chapters discuss in-depth the traditional roles of Native men and women which were extremely oversimplified by early observers. Women who chose not to step outside traditional roles still had the opportunity to gain status equal to that of men. This is very well illustrated in the

chapters on Lakota women and the arts in The Hidden Half. Early observers could not have understood the complexity of these societies because of their lack of interest in women's roles, contributions and knowledge of Native thought and values. Students also view a film entitled "Lakota Quill work" which depicts the complex role women played in legend, spirituality and art. Students study the role that White Buffalo Calf Woman played in bringing religion to the Lakota people in Oglala Women. They also examine the inclusiveness of the feminine as well as masculine and all of creation in Native religions in general in chapters entitled "The Sacred Hoop" in The Sacred Hoop and "Indian Medicine Indian Health: Study Between Red and White Medicine" in Canadian Women's Studies-Native Women.

The changing role of Native women is discussed in the next phase of the course. This is best illustrated in the chapter in The Hidden Half entitled "Sioux Women in Transition", in which the impact of colonization on the Devils Lake Dakotas is discussed. Traditionally women owned the gardens, food stores, and were instrumental in the decision making of their people. Albers states that women were ignored during the treaty making process and allotted lands and food stores were distributed to men only. This significantly impacted the status of Dakota women during the early reservation period. Although Dakota women have been able to regain some of their traditional status, Albers feels capitalism continues to have a negative impact on both Dakota men and women. She states, "Since the formation of reservations, Sioux people have become increasingly marginal to the capitalist production process. Having been excluded from an

active and permanent place, as wage laborers or entrepreneurs, in capitalist production, they have come to live under conditions that foster a domestic pattern of production aimed at maintaining people on the fringes of capitalism rather than preparing them for active participation in the system"(222).

Contemporary lifestyles and issues of Oglala women in Marla Powers' book are also read and discussed. We end this phase on the changing role of Native women with the chapter in The Sacred Hoop entitled "Who Is Your Mother? Red Roots of White Feminism." This chapter is devoted to the history of feminism on this continent. Paula Gunn Allen states:

"If American society judiciously modeled the traditions of the various Native Nations, the place of women in society would become central, the distribution of goods and power would be egalitarian, the elderly would be respected, honored, and protected as a primary social and cultural resource, the ideals of physical beauty would be considerably enlarged (to include "fat", strong-featured women, gray-haired, and wrinkled individuals, and others who in contemporary American culture are viewed as "ugly"). Additionally, the destruction of the biota, the life sphere, and the natural resources of the planet would be curtailed, and the spiritual nature of human and nonhuman life would become a primary organized principle of human society. And if the traditional tribal systems that are emulated included pacifist ones, war would cease to be a major method of human problem solving" (211).

She further notes "...feminists too often believe that no one has ever experienced the kind of society that empowered women and made that empowerment the basis of its rules of civilization. The price the feminist community must pay because it is not aware of the recent presence of gynarchical societies on this continent is unnecessary confusion, division, and much lost time" (213).

The class ends with selected readings on contemporary Native women who have made a difference, such as Wilma Mankiller, Bea Medicine, Nancy Wallace and Ada Deer to name a few. Students engage in a leadership exercise in which various qualities of positive leadership are discussed. We end the class by viewing a film "The Honor of All" which is about the recovery of the Alkali Band of Shushwap Indians from alcoholism. The reason this film is shown is to illustrate the contribution one woman made to her tribe's recovery from alcoholism. At the time she committed herself to her own recovery, her tribe was 100% alcoholic. Today the tribe claims 95% sobriety.

During the course students are also asked to write a paper comparing the roles of men and women in a tribe of their own choice. They also conduct a presentation on a contemporary Native woman who has made a difference. Some students choose nationally known figures, others choose their grandmothers or aunts. These projects are always the most interesting and entertaining.

Although there is much more material available now than a few years ago, resources are still the major problem. We are still in need of a good, comprehensive text on Native American women that could be used for a sociology course. It is my understanding that the University of Oklahoma will have one available in October of this year.

The other concern I have is the lack of resources to incorporate elders into this course as consultants and speakers. I believe it would personalize the course for students and would evoke more excitement about conducting research on women of their own tribes, which is the ultimate goal of this course anyway.

Without this type of study and research, I believe much will continue to be lost and the battle against racist and sexist stereotypes will persist.

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NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN  
SOC 197

ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

(\*All assignments are due on the dates listed by each assignment)

- August 26           •Review Syllabus and Definitions  
                      •Get Acquainted Activity  
                      •Film "Women of Color - Native American Women"  
                      •Selected Reading - American Indian Women

**Stereotypes of Native American Women**

- September 2       Read and Discuss:  
                      •The Indians of Eastern America: A Documentary of the Sexes, Article #30  
                      •The Hidden Half, Chapters 1&2  
                      •Film: "Black Robe"

**Developmental Life Cycles of Native American Women of the Past**

- September 9       Read and Discuss:  
                      •Oglala Women, Chapters 3-6
- September 16      Read and Discuss:  
                      •The Sacred Hoop - Hwame, Koshkalaka and Rest:  
                      Lesbians in American Indian Culture  
                      •Selected Reading - The Winnebago Tribe

September 23      **NO CLASS**

**Comparison of the Roles of Men and Women**

- September 30      Read and Discuss:  
                      •The Sacred Hoop - When Women Throw Down Bundles  
                      •The Hidden Half, Chapters 4&9  
                      •Selection from Iroquois Women

- October 7          Read and Discuss:  
                      •Oglala Women, Chapter 12  
                      •Selected reading from the American Indian Past and Present - Chapter,  
                      "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women"  
                      •The Hidden Half, Chapter 10

**Spirituality and Native American Women**

- October 14        •Review for Midterm  
                      Read and Discuss:  
                      •The Sacred Hoop - The Sacred Hoop  
                      •Oglala Women, Chapter 2  
                      •Selected Reading from Canadian Women Studies

October 21        **MIDTERM EXAM**

## Native American Women and the Arts

October 28

- Papers Due
- Read and Discuss:
- The Hidden Half, Chapter 5&6
- Film, "Lakota Quillwork"

### The Changing Role of Native American Women

November 4

- Read and Discuss:
- The Hidden Half, Chapter 8
- The Sacred Hoop - Who is Your Mother? Red Roots of White Feminism

November 11

- Read and Discuss:
- Oglala Women, Chapters 7-10

November 18

- Student Presentations

November 25

**NO CLASS**

### Native American Women Who Have Made a Difference

December 2

- Read and Discuss:
- Selected Readings
- Activity - Indian Leader Sketch
- Film: "The Honor of All"
- Review for Final Exam

December 9

**FINAL EXAM**

# An Indigenous Perspective on the Teaching of Native Religion/Beliefs in the Classroom

by  
Karen White Eyes  
Oglala Lakota College

Native religion and believes have rapidly gained in popularity across the United States and abroad due to various media coverages in recent years. The question is this: how much do Indian people want to reveal and share with the world? Having been raised in a traditional environment and presently being in an authoritative position, I will attempt to offer some advice about teaching Native American religion and beliefs based on my teaching experience at Oglala Lakota College.

It may seem that tribal colleges are in an ideal position to endorse and authorize the teaching of their tribal ways within their respective fields and geographical area, but this is often not the case. Most of the time the faculty at tribal colleges are forced to respect and adhere to local tribal laws and traditions which may rely heavily on the advice of tribal elders, spiritual leaders, and tribal political leaders.

Administrators and teachers at tribal colleges face many dilemmas. We need to serve our students as the experts of our chosen fields, have a sensitivity to the subject matter that we teach, and have an insight into the perspectives of the local community.

There is also a diversity of peoples within tribal reservations which includes traditional, non-traditional, and non-Native residents. Additionally, some members may speak the Native language, but do not necessarily practice the native

culture (i.e., ceremonies and beliefs), while other members may not have any knowledge of or speak the Native language, but practice the culture. In other words, there are no specific "types" when it comes to tribal members living on the reservation.

An example of how this diversity challenges our classroom teaching is the numerous encounters we have in teaching Native religion and beliefs where tribal Christians v.s. tribal Traditionals. When placed in this situation, one learns to mediate and learns conflict management and resolution. Although sometimes the situation may not become totally resolved, the parties come away from the situation with respect for each other and respect for other peoples' beliefs. Some of their attitudes can almost always be attributed to a century of cultural genocide.

Oglala Lakota College, through its Lakota Studies Department, is attempting to undo the dominating society's "brainwashing" that has spanned almost a century. Fortunately, some remnants of the Lakota culture and religion were left to salvage and build upon. Today, a mass psychological healing process from the oppression inflicted upon our ancestors is occurring within the current generation. This is being accomplished through our tribal religious ceremonies.

In our particular area, we were given the gift of a sacred pipe and seven sacred ceremonies by White Buffalo Calf Woman which we were to practice as she had instructed. But in 1890, the U.S. Government banned our ceremonies, stating our religion was paganistic. This began the process of forced assimilation

for our people. Thereafter, our grandparents and great-grandparents were forbidden to speak their own language, were converted to Christianity, and educated with the dominant society's values and language.

As tribal members of the current generation, we have escaped the trauma, but we will forever bear the scars of our ancestors. We have adapted well over the century, but the duties that we have been entrusted with are first, to teach our current and future generations about the importance of our religion, second, to incorporate our beliefs and practices into our everyday lives as much as possible, and third, to protect our religion and spirituality from exploitation.

Of all these entrusted duties, it is the latter with which we are currently struggling. It is important for faculty at Oglala Lakota to enlighten and teach our traditional beliefs to our tribal people, but the bottom line is we need to practice caution in these teachings. Our religious beliefs are tightly interwoven and embedded in all aspects of our lives. This is clearly evident in our everyday social lives and in the political, economic, historical, and linguistic areas of our culture. Because of this presence, we cannot avoid teaching our beliefs in the classroom.

At Oglala Lakota College, we currently teach Lakota Studies courses in all the different areas with the awareness that the cultural and religious beliefs will permeate. We have learned that with extreme caution and objectivity in the presentation of the subject matter, students, elders, and spiritual leaders will not be offended in any way.

One member of the Lakota Studies Department is currently involved in the movement to protect tribal religious beliefs and spirituality from exploitation by non-Natives. Recently, this was what essentially prompted the Lakota Studies Department to develop and teach a Lakota spirituality class which would be an addition to the regular curriculum. As a result, our position became strongly based on the need to protect our religion, spirituality, and beliefs which is the foundation of our way of life. We also felt that our tribal members who wish to learn more about our religion and spirituality can utilize local resources to gain a thorough understanding.

In conclusion, I do not want to dampen the enthusiasm and respect that faculty at other colleges and universities nationwide have in their effort to promote Native American awareness and understanding through their curriculum, but to encourage them in their efforts. Due to the fact that we are a tribal college does not always make us the authority on tribal matters. But because of our close proximity to our local tribal members, we generally feel or receive pressure immediately and have to deal with it accordingly.

## "Should Native American Religions Be Taught Off the Reservation?"

by  
Ann Braude  
Carleton College

When I told people at the Local History Seminar that I taught a course on Native American religions, the statement was greeted with raised eyebrows and skeptical looks. The question of whether sacred traditions should be brought into the college classroom is controversial in itself--add to that a non-Native instructor and you will understand their response. Yet, when the Native American Studies staff of Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College was asked to introduce local culture and history, most of what they presented had to do with spiritual traditions. The seminar started with prayers and a tobacco offering and an elder was asked to speak for the food before each meal. Throughout the week we heard supernatural stories and heard about the people's pain at having burial sites flooded by the damming of the Chippewa Flowage. One might well have come away with the view that it is impossible to separate the teachings and history of any Native people from their sacred beliefs and practices.

Nevertheless, I was not surprised by the skeptical response of colleagues as they learned that a non-Indian faculty member was teaching a course on Native American religions at a college with a predominantly non-Native student body. I too would probably greet such news with suspicion. Since the assault on sacred traditions has been a constant attempt to exterminate or control Native peoples and cultures, it is not surprising that this area is an extremely sensitive one, where secrecy has often



been the best survival strategy. The current exploitation and appropriation of sacred ceremonies and teachings within the New Age Movement even further raised these sensitivities.

It is precisely because religion is such a sensitive and problematic area in Native American Studies that it offers an opportunity to introduce non-Native students to the contemporary concerns of tribal members like autonomy and religious freedom. To understand the reasons for current sensitivity in this area, students must come to grips with centuries of history, with federal Indian policy and with a critical view of New Age spirituality, especially in its more entrepreneurial expressions. They must examine their own presuppositions and stereotypes about Native spirituality. Perhaps most importantly, they must look at indigenous traditions as living cultures, whose members, like practitioners of any religion, are in a constant process of negotiation about the meaning and practice of their traditions in the modern world.

Nevertheless, while I believe that courses on Native American religions offer extraordinary educational opportunities, I share the concern of the skeptics about their potential pitfalls and believe that any such course must be approached with extreme caution. I found that trying to face the problematic issues head on, rather than trying to minimize them, created rewarding personal and intellectual challenges both for me and for the students in the course. However, I still regard the question that forms the title of this essay as an open question and I hope that this essay may generate some feed back. I'd like to take this opportunity to present some of the issues I think

should be addressed in designing and teaching such a course and the way that I tried to address those issues. The solutions I came up with may not be workable in every institution and some may find them inadequate, but I hope they will provide examples that may stimulate discussions of when it is or is not appropriate for a non-Native teacher to offer a course on Native American religions for non-Native students.

### Guest Speakers

The central feature of the course was a series of guest speakers. This approach will not always be possible, depending on the location and resources of the institution. However, I felt that only by structuring the course around guest speakers could I meet the legitimate objections to it being offered. Therefore subsequent courses will be offered only when a generous speakers' budget is available. There is much more flexibility in inviting guest speakers than in appointing instructors: they do not need to have academic qualifications. Thus one can invite people whose knowledge and experience is based on other types of learning, or because of their roles in the communities from which they come. Because of the current glut of people presenting themselves as speakers on Native American spirituality, it is important to invite speakers who are well-known and well-respected in their own communities.

The use of guest speakers has a number of other advantages. Their presence makes it very clear that indigenous religions are living, contemporary belief systems, not relics of the past as they are conveyed in many ethnographic texts. They can expose students directly to oral styles of learning. This relocates

written texts from the privileged position they enjoy in most humanities classes to a position in which they become just one source of information, and a source that must be used critically in the context provided by speakers. By being exposed to a number of guest speakers from a single tribal group, students can see that there is no single religious authority nor one authoritative interpretation of traditions, yet there are basic tenets that are agreed upon by all.

The presence of guest speakers also allows me to present them, rather than myself, as the more authoritative voice in the classroom. Ironically, one of the biggest advantages that I had going for me as a non-Native instructor is that I was not trained in Native American Studies. My doctoral program in American religious history included virtually no exposure to indigenous cultures. This enabled me to insist that students not view me as an expert, but rather as a facilitator who would learn with them from the guest speakers and from discussion of the readings. Taking this position required me to give up my authority in the classroom--a salutary experiment that I recommend to all experienced instructors on an occasional basis.

Although I did not present myself as an authority on Lakota traditions, I made it clear to the students that I only offered such a course after three years of talking to people, reading everything I could get my hands on, and on a few occasions travelling to a reservation for ceremonies. This, however, did not make me an expert, but only gave me a beginning familiarity with a highly complex set of traditions.

## The Syllabus

The course was divided into three sections, the first of which was entitled "Lakota Traditions." I chose to focus the course on a single tribal group in order to emphasize the depth and complexity of each tribal tradition and history. I focused on Lakota/Dakota traditions because this is the region in which the college is located, which meant that guest speakers were available in the area and because I was most familiar with this group. In addition, a wealth of printed sources are available. Focusing on just one group meant that students could be exposed to a number of different Lakota voices so that they did not come away with the idea that there is one authoritative view of Lakota spiritual traditions.

The second part of the course was entitled "Who Speaks for the Tradition? Contested Claims." In this section, the students were divided into small groups, and each group read a book that claimed to portray Lakota traditions, but whose claim to represent the tradition has been questioned or rejected by tribal members. Each group then presented the text they had read to the class. In this way we were able to discuss the spectrum of problems raised by texts authored from a number of different viewpoints--from the gross misinformation and exploitation of Lynn Andrews books to the problem of Wallace Black Elk, a knowledgeable tribal member, being criticized for selling religion. We were also able to address concerns about texts written by ethnographers and missionaries. I think this section of the course is very important, because students interested in Native American spirituality are likely to seek further reading,

and they need to have the tools to know how to evaluate the many texts available in bookstores. Students (and instructors) need to understand that just because a book is written by a Native American doesn't mean that it can be used uncritically. Once again the popularity of the subject creates a problem for the educator. The enormous market for books on Native American spirituality has led to a proliferation of available texts, many of which are quite problematic. The demand for books in this field has prompted some tribal members, who would not be considered religious experts in a traditional context, to offer themselves as authorities on Native spirituality for a non-Native audience.

The third section of the course focused on "Contemporary Issues." This section was intended to introduce students to ongoing legal and political struggles related to Native American Religious Freedom. Many students are shocked to learn the legal history of Native American spirituality, because it is inconsistent with what they have been taught about the protection of religious freedom under the United States constitution. These are issues that all students (and certainly all religion majors) need to know about and which a non-Native instructor can present effectively, whether they are presented in the context of a course on Native American traditions or in a more general course in religious studies or constitutional history. Close readings of the Smith and Lynn decisions raise provocative questions about the legal status and definition of religion in general in the United States, as well as shedding light on the historic

disregard and lack of understanding of Native American traditions.

### Student Expectations

Students have expectations toward courses on Native American religions that they would not bring to other courses offered in the religion department. Students enrolling in a course, on "The Jews in America," for example do not generally bring personal spiritual longings into the classroom. Nor do they, if they are not Jewish, expect that the beliefs and practices to which they are introduced will be available to them for personal benefit. In contrast, many students (and faculty) have been exposed to the idea promoted in New Age circles that anybody can easily participate in Native ceremonies without preparation. When teaching Jewish history to non-Jewish students, one's main obstacle is ignorance. In the area of American Indian religions, romantic stereotypes and misinformation abound. Thus the instructor's role must be to unteach what students think they know. Students found this among the most useful benefit of the class. They did not come away feeling that they had mastered the area of Native American religions. Rather, many students reported that they came away feeling that they knew less than they thought they did at the beginning of the class, but that the questioning of the assumptions they came in with was among the most valuable benefit of the class which had implications for many other classes.

I try to address the issue of student expectations by making clear from the outset that this is not a class in how to practice Native American religions. Our "Introduction to Islam" class

does not teach students how to be Moslems, nor does our course on "Catholic Life and Thought" teach students how to be Catholics. Rather, these courses are intended to introduce students to the history, experience, and beliefs of groups of which they may or may not be members. Some tribal members also object that spiritual teaching does not belong in the college classroom because it cannot be separated from the ceremonies and experiences through which it is gained. Some of my students found this view very compelling and thought that our class should have included "experiential learning," like participation in a sweat lodge or other ceremony. Because of the broad spectrum of opinion about the appropriateness of non-Natives participating in sacred ceremonies, I did not encourage or discourage experiential learning. I felt that this approach might be appropriate for the extremely motivated student who had some connections with an Indian community and who was invited to a ceremony by tribal members. However, I felt that it was not my role to facilitate such contacts or to arrange invitations.

### Conclusion

No instructor should embark on a course on Native American religions unless they can handle criticism gracefully and be willing to accept and learn from corrections that may be offered to them. There is no place for defensiveness on the part of non-Native instructors. One must be willing to entertain seriously the view frequently articulated by tribal members that they have suffered long enough at the hands of those who wished to interpret their cultures for them, and that it is inappropriate for outsiders to attempt to represent their traditions. One must

also take seriously the views of those who do not feel that sacred things should be shared with outsiders, whether it is a tribal member who shares them or not. Even by inviting guest speakers and providing them with an honorarium, one is injecting an external and potentially distorting element into the religious culture to which one hopes to expose students. While it would be paternalistic not to invite guest speakers for this reason, or not compensate them appropriately, it would also be naive not to recognize the impact of this practice. I was acutely aware that I was able to provide resources to bring Lakota spiritual leaders to address non-Native students that would not be available to bring them to address the Indian community in Minneapolis or at a tribal college.

The course on Native American Religion raised questions for me that have repercussions far beyond this individual course. It has made me rethink, for example, the approach to Asian traditions in the religious studies curriculum, which are frequently presented in such a way as to make Asian-American students feel that their families are not authentic representatives of the traditions from which they come. It has also challenged me to consider the issue of showing respect toward research subjects, no matter what group they belong to. It has caused me to rethink the way I relate to students in the classroom. Most importantly, it has challenged my assumptions about whether academic inquiry is most effective when it assumes that there are no limits to the appropriate objects of investigation, or whether it may be more effective if it recognizes its own limitations.



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Spring, 1992  
AMST/REL 39

Ann Braude  
Lei 321, x4229  
Office Hours: M 3:45-4:45  
W 10:00-12  
(and by appointment)

### NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

#### Readings:

John G. Neihardt/Black Elk, Black Elk Speaks  
Joseph Epes Brown/Black Elk, The Sacred Pipe  
Richard Erodes/Mary Crow Dog, Lakota Woman  
Christopher Vescey, Handbook of Native American Religious Freedom  
xerox packet available for purchase at the Book Store

Mar 31 T Introduction

### LAKOTA TRADITIONS

Apr 2 Th **Guest Speaker: Jerry Dearly**  
Reading: Black Elk Speaks, 1-91

Apr 7 T Black Elk Speaks, 92-274  
Apr 9 Th Clyde Holler, "Black Elk's Relation to Christianity," and  
"The Theology of Black Elk Speaks" (packet)  
Apr 10 F **Guest Speaker: John White**

Apr 14 T Sacred Pipe, Preface, I-VI  
Apr 16 Th Sacred Pipe, VII-VIII  
\*First paper due.

Apr 21 T **Guest Speakers: Rev. Virgil Foote and Kathleen Foote**  
Apr 23 Th Lakota Woman, 1-9

Apr 26 Su **Video Lecture: Charlotte Black Elk, 7 p.m., Scoville 102**  
Apr 28 T Lakota Woman, 10-Epilogue

### WHO SPEAKS FOR THE TRADITION? CONTESTED CLAIMS

Apr 30 Th Anthropologist: Marla Powers, Oglala Women  
New Age: Lynn Andrews, Medicine Woman  
Jesuit: Paul Stienmetz, Pipe, Bible, and Peyote Among the  
Oglala Lakota  
Rainbow Tribes: Ed McGaa/Eagle Man, Mother Earth  
Spirituality  
????: Wallace Black Elk, Black Elk

May 5 T Who Speaks for the Tradition?  
May 7 Th Who Speaks for the Tradition?  
\*Second Paper due.

## CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

May 12 T Guest Speakers: Arvol Looking Horse and Carol Ann Heart  
\*Special Lecture: "Mending the Sacred Hoop," 4:30  
May 14 Th Vescey, Handbook, Prologue-3  
May 17 Su Video Lecture: Vine Deloria Jr., "Bush's Indian Policy."  
7 p.m., Scoville 102  
May 19 T Vescey, Handbook, 4-Epilogue  
May 21 Th Speaker: Richard Alan Grounds, "Yuchi Tribal Continuity"  
May 26 T Clifford, "Identity at Mashpee" (packet)  
May 28 Th Carlson, "The Old Testament of Native America" (packet)  
June 2 T Conclusion  
\*Third paper due.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Guest speakers and reaction papers: We are very lucky to have a series of guest speakers participating in this course. Part of what we will hope to learn is what it means to listen respectfully. A 1-2 page reaction paper reflecting on what you have learned, and what questions have been raised for you will be due at the next class session following each guest presentation.

Class participation: Class participation is a crucial element of this course. Students should come to class prepared to engage in a thoughtful discussion of all guest presentations and readings.

First paper: Response to Black Elk. What did you learn from the readings by and about Black Elk? What kind of source do they provide for learning about Lakota traditions? Why are they valuable? What questions do they raise? 5 page paper due April 21.

Second paper: Who speaks for the tradition? In this section of the course, we will break up into groups of five, each of which will read, discuss, and present to the class a book that makes a claim to represent Lakota traditions about which some question has been raised. A 6-8 page paper on the book you read and the problems it raises about printed information about Lakota religion is due May 7.

Third paper: 10 pages, due June 2. Topic open. You might explore the religious and cultural aspects of a contemporary issue concerning law, treaty rights, education, government policy, or social questions or you might look at religious themes in novels by a Native American author, or explore questions of stereotyping, or the implications of "neo-shamanism" for example.

## Native American Studies and Teachers' Licensure

by  
William Thackery  
Northern Montana College

There are a number of questions that might be asked about Native American Studies and their licensing or endorsing of public school teachers by state governments, but most such questions can be reduced into two different categories. First, in which states is there a licensure requirement that teachers in schools with a significant number of Indian students need to have some special training or background in Native American cultures? Second, and a somewhat different question, in which states is there an endorsement requirement that must be met by licensed teachers who would teach classes of Native American Studies?

As these two questions suggest, we must first clarify some matters of terminology. "Licensure" involves a series of steps which must be completed in terms of documentation of education, training, and background before an applicant can teach in a given state's public school system. In all fifty states this documentation is submitted to a state agency, usually a part of a state office of public instruction. This agency then issues a license to teach. No two states have the same licensing requirements, nor do any two states even have consistent terminology by which they describe teacher licensing. Some states call it certification, while others call it "endorsement", a term we use to mean something different from the obtaining of primary licensure to teach. In every state there are several levels or classes of licensure, depending on experience, degrees, dates of training, etc. which are unique to each state.

"Endorsement" as we use the term, refers to the specialized areas in which a teachers' state license permits them to teach. Some states, such as California, for instance, have broad licensing requirements so that a teaching license (or "certificate" as it is referred to in some states) qualifies you for almost any teaching position. In such states, as was pointed out to me by someone familiar with the California system, the decision of specific qualifications for teaching positions is made at the local level by well-trained hiring bodies or search committees, consisting of boards of public education or working closely with such boards.

Other states, such as Utah, for instance, issue teachers' licenses with one or more specific endorsements qualifying the endorsee to teach certain specific subject matter. Utah has 48 specific state endorsements for teachers and is the only state that requires a state licensing endorsement to teach Native American Studies on the secondary level. The only other state listing a specific endorsement in this field is Montana, which has a "permissive endorsement," requiring 15 quarter credits of approved Native American Studies coursework, however, local schools may employ teachers to teach NAS courses in Montana without this endorsement. The same seems true in an indeterminate number of other states; in the absence of an NAS endorsement, local hiring agencies may determine who is qualified to teach such courses.

Another point concerns the cut-off between secondary and primary or elementary level teachers' licenses which is not the same in all states. In some states there are three separate

grade levels for licensure-primary or elementary, middle, and secondary. The middle school category, however, may be included in either or both of the other two categories, sometimes with some additional requirements for middle school endorsement.

Although only Utah has a required endorsement in Native American Studies and only Montana has a so-called "permissive endorsement", sixteen states have a Bilingual/Bicultural endorsement, which may or may not include or require Native American cultural material. The sixteen states with this endorsement are Alaska, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. Two additional states, Arizona and North Dakota, have general endorsements which include Bilingual/Bicultural education. These two states endorse a "major in any subject commonly taught. . .in a public school," in the case of Arizona; or ". . .in North Dakota public schools," as the catch-all phrase reads in North Dakota.

In the case of North Dakota, there is a clearly defined Bilingual area of endorsement in Native American Studies, including Native American languages and cultures. In Arizona, the situation is somewhat less clear the Bilingual/Bicultural requirement is viewed primarily for Spanish/English bilingualism/biculturalism, however the Teacher Certification Unit of the Arizona Department of Education in Phoenix, at the request of a local school board, did not rule out the possibility that endorsements could be in Navajo, Papago, Hopi, or any of the other cultural units in Arizona. In contrast, in California,

local school hiring bodies can impose such requirements on local teachers without the necessary sanction of the state department of education.

Much the same range of possibilities exist in the sixteen states with the Bilingual/Bicultural requirement. A few examples will illustrate the range of situations: in Alaska, for instance, the Teacher Certification Office of the Alaska Department of Education in Juneau, AK may issue a special "Letter of Authorization, Recognized Expert, Type I" endorsement. According to the certification office, this is a "new certificate" that is limited to five years in duration and must be requested by a local school board on behalf of a teaching expert in a given field whom it has decided to hire. These letters may be requested for any experts on language and cultural matters of Alaskan cultures, but the requirements for obtaining such letters are stringent, for instance, two letters of recommendation from recognized experts in the culture or language, a resume demonstrating extra competence in the given language or culture, and at least four years experience working with that culture are required.

In New Mexico a similar cultural, linguistic endorsement is handled almost exclusively by the culture or reservation involved, thus the State of New Mexico endorses those experts recognized by the tribe. Therefore, Navajo Community College will test and make recommendations for the Navajo while local tribal educational committees make recommendations for the various Apache bands or the individual Pueblos, which are then endorsed by the State. This procedure in New Mexico may be



establishing a trend, since South Dakota is presently in the process of adopting a similar endorsement procedure in Native American or Bilingual/Bicultural Studies.

At another extreme are states, like Texas, where bilingual/bicultural education is seen primarily in terms of English and Spanish (or Mexican-American) languages and cultures. However none of the sixteen states which have a Bilingual/Bicultural endorsement rule out the possibility of Native American languages and culture. Often, it is simply the case that no method of demonstrating expertise has been provided at the state level. In most states, this undefined status of Native American Studies appears to allow local schools to hire teachers they deem qualified to teach such courses if they can, through their curriculum acceptance procedures, gain the approval for such courses.

A final way in which some states are meeting the need to provide multicultural teaching experience for new teachers is to specify that student teaching or the supervised teaching internship include multicultural classroom experience. Such requirements vary from state to state and may vary at different teacher training institutions within a given state. Typical of such requirements are California's specification that multicultural exposure by newly trained teachers cannot be met by "specific coursework" alone, but must include prior to or during the potential teachers' internship "multicultural study and experience, including study or second language acquisition and experience with successful approaches to the education of linguistically different students. Each candidate must

demonstrate compatibility with, and ability to teach, students who are different from the candidate. One half of the student teaching experience must be with students who are culturally different from the student teacher," which may include Mexican, African, Asian, European, and Native Americans.

When I began to examine teachers' licensing and endorsement procedures, someone who had worked for a number of years in the field told me it is a bureaucratic maze with no consistency of terminology or procedure from state to state and it is a very conservative field where one will see few changes within states from decade to decade, let alone year to year. The first of these observations is obviously true, but the second did not apply to Native American Studies. There is much volatility in the requirements for teachers in this field and much recognition that our public education systems have a long way to go to meet basic and obvious needs (For general survey information on teacher licensure and preparation requirements, see The NASDTEC Manual 1991, ed. by Richard K. Mastain, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt. A 1993 update is projected for November.)

## LCO College Community Library: A Source for Teaching

by  
Cheryl Metoyer Duran  
University of California, Riverside

The importance of storing valuable information has long been a tradition within Indian communities. During this week, I heard several comments which support the importance of recording, storing, and retrieving information in tribal communities. One participant noted that, "we must keep our memory." Another spoke of "valuing things that are written down" and a third participant urged that the tribes "keep the record for learning." Each of these comments refers to the goals of all tribal college libraries.

### Providing Resources for Writing Local Tribal History

The mission statement of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa College Community Library, like those of other tribal college libraries, reveals the complexity and breadth of the library's challenge:

The mission of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa College Community Library is to provide quality materials and services which will fulfill the educational, informational, cultural and recreational needs of the entire community in an atmosphere that is welcoming, respectful and businesslike. The Library stands behind the College Mission Statement with its emphasis on tribal self-determination and retention of the Ojibwa heritage. (LCO Library Policies)

Founded and formally organized in 1990, the LCO library serves the local population of 3000. The library provides reference services, literature searches, interlibrary loans,

preparation of bibliographies, outreach programs for tribal elders, and bookmobile services. Through participation in the Ashland Northern Waters Library system, and other networks, the library shares its resources and expands the boundaries of its own collection.

One way in which the library seeks to encourage the "retention of Ojibwa heritage" is to provide the resources and services which support the writing of local history. At present, potential resources for writing local history are not located in the library, but are scattered throughout the community. For example, some materials are in the homes of community members while other primary sources may be found in the tribal business office and in the offices of radio station WOJB 89-FM, the tribally controlled public radio service to Northwest Wisconsin. For ten years, WOJB has been collecting and storing the tapes of local events, such as pow wows, speeches of the tribal elders, (some in Ojibwa language), debates, and interviews with prominent guests. While the station is anxious to create a proper archives, the tapes are not transcribed, organized, cataloged or properly preserved.

According to the proposal for expanded library services, the library plans "to serve as the collector and disseminator of materials specific to the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa people." (Caryl Pfaff, Librarian, Lac Courte Oreilles Community College Library.) The plan includes a new library building designed to address the proper storage, display, preservation and conservation of materials. In addition, the library plans to initiate an oral history project to help ensure preservation of

The area of information technology represents another important opportunity for tribal college libraries to expand their services to the community. With the development of the National Research and Education Network (NREN), some tribal libraries have made efforts to build the required infrastructure by enhancing their telecommunication capabilities. While participation in NREN requires financial resources and careful planning, the benefits include providing tribal libraries with electronic access for expanded resource sharing.

Our discussion suggested that tribal college libraries play many roles in providing information to their communities. The economic realities of tribal communities often dictate that librarians serve as archivists, heads of special collections, records managers, and museum curators. While there are some differences among these roles, the tribal perspective appears to focus on the similarities. Jerry Smith (LCO storyteller and educator) noted that libraries, archives, and museums all share in the mission of "keeping the record for learning." Jerry's point was emphasized in our discussion of languages, when we learned that in some American Indian languages, the word for "library," "museum" or "archives" is translated as "house of wisdom."

and access to the oral traditions of Lac Courte Oreilles.

### Organization of Resources

One of the most exciting aspects of the library's future concerns the discussion and development of more effective systems for organizing the tribe's historical and cultural materials. Efficient retrieval of the information needed to write local history requires proper organization of tribal resources. The LCO tribal college library shares this challenge with other tribal college libraries. Tribal and non-tribal community libraries usually organize their materials according to the Dewey Decimal Classification System or the Library of Congress Classification System and List of Subject Headings. Many researchers and community members have found that these systems do not permit efficient retrieval of information about American Indian subjects. For example, if someone went to the library for information on the people here at Lac Courte Oreilles, the researcher might be faced with several possible subject headings or terms. The alternatives include: (1) "Ojibwe," (2) "Ojibwa," (3) "Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa," (4) "LCO Tribe," (5) "Anishinabe," or (6) "Indians of North America-Chippewa". Which of these terms is the most appropriate or accurate? The standard subject heading or access point may not reflect the way in which a people view or refer to themselves. Tribal libraries which organize their resources in ways which reflect the user's approach to gathering information (i.e., information-seeking behavior) may reshape the way in which librarians think about and classify American Indian subjects.

### Information Technology

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## La Pointe, Lac Courte Oreilles, and the Ojibwa Perspective

by  
Helen Hornbeck Tanner  
Newberry Library

The Lac Courte Oreilles community is well known for its strength and persistence in maintaining Anishinabe tradition and values despite the pressures of the surrounding non-Indian population and government bureaucracies. One of the sources of this strength is the knowledge that they have deep roots in the country along the south shore of Lake Superior in present day Wisconsin. Madeleine Island and La Pointe are geographical symbols of the long Ojibwa history in this part of North America.

The history handed down by elders, and recorded on birchbark scrolls, describes the long migration with several stopping points that brought the people now called Ojibwa from the St. Lawrence River to Lake Superior. This route can also be traced archaeologically by the appearance of distinctive fishing gear brought into the upper Great Lakes probably a thousand years ago. Bawating, the place at the falls (Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan) was the base for the Anishinabeg for many generations before a group moved westward to Chequamegon Bay about 1500, according to calculations based on William Whipple Warren's traditional history based on information collected about 1842.

The history of the Anishinabeg at present day Madeleine Island and Chequamegon Bay can be divided into three periods: 1) Anishinabe occupation, c. 1500-1615; 2) trading center era, c. 1660-1842; and 3) government administrative and treaty-making center, 1826-present. There are some gaps and overlaps in these



chronological periods, but it is useful to keep in mind the sequence: 1) Anishinabe base, 2) trading center, 3) government headquarters.

Chequamegon Bay's protected waters have been an excellent refuge from the often stormy waters of Lake Superior. The narrow needle-like peninsula projected four miles out into the bay, coming within two miles of Madeleine Island, the big island that is part of the group known as the Apostle Islands. Wave action has worn away the tip of the peninsula and broken through the middle, so the original strip of land has all but disappeared.

For Anishinabeg in the 16th century, Chequamegon Bay was a dangerous place, close to the Fox (Mesquakie) who then occupied the area to the south on the headwaters of the St. Croix River, and the Sioux (Dakota) who lived to the west of Lake Superior on the headwaters of the Mississippi River and at Red Lake. The Anishinabe battled both of these tribes to expand their own hunting territory. After experiencing several counter-attacks, they moved from the bay shore to greater security on the island. Their big village spread across a three mile expanse on the west side of the island, with fields of corn and pumpkins beyond the clustered wigwams. The island and bay form one of the few areas on the south shore of Lake Superior where the local climate was conducive to agriculture. On the island, they still had to fend off war parties of Dakota who could hide in the oak scrub of the sandy peninsula, or cross the channel from the western mainland at night to take captives along the shore of the island. Since fishing was excellent, the people were not forced to hunt game on the mainland. At that early time, buffalo were near on the

headwaters of the St. Croix River only a half day's travel from Chequamegon Bay.

A seldom mentioned chapter in the history of the Anishinabeg brought about the desertion of the island village. According to the accounts of elder Ojibwas recorded in the 1840s by Warren, some of the religious leaders of the Midewiwin used their knowledge of plant medicine to poison members of opposing factions in the village. For a time, these powerful men terrorized the entire community, engaging in unnatural practices such as cannibalism and child sacrifice. In the unhealthy atmosphere that pervaded the village, the people heard the wailing of disturbed spirits of the dead. Finally, they banded together to kill the deranged shaman and then deserted the island completely, moving back to Keweenaw Bay and Bawating, at the falls of the present day St. Mary's River. In the recollections of old people, the desertion of the island occurred about the time they first met Europeans whom they identified as the "men with hats." The first encounter with foreigners probably took place about 1615 when the French explorer Samuel de Champlain reached Georgian Bay of Lake Huron and sent a scout to investigate the country further west.

Purged of evil practices, the ancient religion of the Midewiwin has continued in a more simplified form with an emphasis on the responsibilities of people trained in the knowledge of the healing power of plants. The Midewiwin has not been limited to the people called Ojibwas. The Medicine Society has had members among other Great Lakes people: Ottawas, Potawatomis, Menominees, Winnebagos, Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo.

Representatives of all these people lived in Wisconsin at the outset of the 18th century.

After the Anishinabeg abandoned the island, the Chequamegon Bay region apparently had no regular settlements for several decades. By 1660, however, French illegal traders (coureurs de bois) visited the bay, and the following year (1661) the bay became a haven for Ottawa and Huron refugees from the Ontario peninsula. The Huron (properly called Wendat, or in English Wyando) and their Ottawa partners operated a trade network throughout the upper Great Lakes for a long time. After Iroquois warriors attacked their villages near Lake Simcoe, north of Toronto, in 1649, survivors of the first months of starvation and epidemics fled across Lake Huron and northern Lake Michigan to islands at the mouth of Green Bay, arriving in 1655. Next, they moved to the upper Mississippi River where they were soon driven off by the Sioux. Retreating eastward, the Ottawa established a base in 1660 at the lake named for them by the French, Lac Courte Oreilles, which translates into English as "Lake of the Short Ears." (The French nickname for the Ottawas was "Short Ears.") After leaving the Mississippi River, the Huron chose a temporary site in central Wisconsin at the head of the Black River, before joining the Ottawa on Chequamegon Bay in 1661.

The Ottawa and Huron refugees on Chequamegon Bay developed an active trade, drawing Indian customers from as far south as the Illinois country. The Iroquois threat in the upper Great Lakes ended in 1662 with the overwhelming defeat of Iroquois invaders at an encampment fifteen miles west of Sioux St. Marie, a place now called Point Iroquois. For a few years, a Jesuit

missionary lived on Chequamegon Bay. After ten years' residence, a Sioux expedition in 1671 forced the Ottawas and Hurons to move to St. Ignace, where they established new villages near the Jesuit chapel. Intertribal peace negotiations began the following year, culminating in a Sioux-Ojibwa council at Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior, in 1679 organized by the trader Daniel Greysolon, Sieur de Lhut.

With peace established and the expansion of trade, Ojibwa people were able to return westward and reoccupy more of the Upper Peninsula country. French officials recognized the importance of the Chequamegon Bay region and established Fort LaPointe on Madeleine Island in 1693, although Ojibwas still were hesitant to live there. The post was evacuated five years later when French officials ordered a military and trade withdrawal from the Great Lakes Region, but it was reestablished in 1718 and became an important center for French trade expansion into the interior country south of Lake Superior. In 1742, after the resumption of Sioux warfare with the Ojibwa, the first advance post was established at Lac Courte Oreilles, a place still carrying the name of the Ottawas who had camped there in 1660. The French fort at La Pointe remained until 1759, the year of the British conquest of Canada. British traders reached the upper Great Lakes by 1762. Three years later, Alexander Henry, who observed the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac in 1763, came to La Pointe in partnership with the Cadottes. At that time, about fifty houses lined the shores of Chequamegon Bay. Michael Cadotte, who married the daughter of White Crane, an important local leader, spent the winter of 1784 at Namekagon in an area

still claimed by the Dakotas. A dozen years later, Ojibwas were living in present northeastern Minnesota at Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, and Mille Lacs; and J. B. Cadotte had a trading post on Red Lake. The Cadotte family produced several generations of traders named Wither Jean Baptiste or Michel.

Marriage alliances are important in the continuity of trade throughout the Lake Superior country. After the American Fur Company became the dominant firm in the La Pointe district, two local traders, the brothers Truman and Lyman Warren, married two daughters of Michel Cadotte in 1821. Two years later they took over the Cadotte trading business. Their descendants, along with the families of a number of other La Pointe traders, eventually went to the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. A second important La Pointe dynasty was the result of the marriage of a daughter of the famous LaPointe war leader, Waubojig, to the trader John Johnston, whose post was located at Sault Ste. Marie. Their eight children all played important roles in the subsequent history of the upper Great Lakes. In summary, under both the British and later American eras, La Pointe continued as an important trade center and the home base for an expanding population of Ojibwa, French, Scottish, Irish, and English heritage. The bankruptcy of the American Fur Company in 1842 signifies the end of this era.

The government administrative era at La Pointe began in 1826 when Thomas McKenny, the first federal Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stopped at La Pointe on his way to the treaty council held at Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior. He established a sub-agency at La Pointe in charge of George

Johnston, who was a son of John Johnston and a grandson of La Pointe leader, Waubojig. That same year, George Johnston's sister Jane married Henry R. Schoolcraft, the Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie. In the fall, Waubojig's son Waishke, whose sister had married the trader, John Johnson, moved with his large family to the bay twenty miles west of Sault Ste. Marie, establishing the base for the later Bay Mills reservation. Clan relationships have been important in Ojibwa history. Although the Loon and Marten totems were important at La Pointe, Waishke belonged to the Caribou totem which was more common on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, while Sault St. Marie had long been associated with the Crane totem.

La Pointe became a full agency in 1836, but the year 1842 marks the beginning of more formal treaty relations between the federal government and the Ojibwa people living in the western part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (a state since 1837) and in the adjoining Wisconsin territory. At the first Treaty of LaPointe in 1842, the regional Ojibwa ceded land that enabled American developers to exploit copper and other mineral resources. A more lasting impact on the Ojibwas of Lac Courte Oreille and their neighbors came from the second Treaty of LaPointe in 1854, the treaty that set up reservations and provided for individual land allotments. The imperfect and fraudulent operation of the allotment procedure in Wisconsin, as in all other parts of the United States, simply meant that Indian people soon lost most of their land despite their sincere efforts to follow government admonitions to become independent family farmers. Under the treaty terms, La Pointe became the site of

the annual distribution of annuities until 1874. The schools and mission establishments set up on the south shore of Chequamegon Bay paved the way for a permanent BIA regional center at Ashland in 1880.

The preceding brief overview concentrates on Ojibwa history in the La Pointe district, and an 18th century offshoot, the community at Lac Courte Oreille. To gain a complete picture of Ojibwa country and Ojibwa people, it is necessary to survey a much larger geographical region, for they cover more territory than any other group of Indian people in North America. Ojibwas living in the Great Lakes region are aware that the name "Anishinabe" refers principally to the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, the "Three Fires" who share a common tradition of an ancient mutual alliance. On the other hand, the self-identification is also used by the Algonquins living east of the Ottawa River in Quebec. So, the name "Ojibwa", with several spellings including "Chippewa", has come to define only the largest division of the Anishinabeg. The word itself seems to have originally identified a single village, first located on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, but it is quite common for a single village name to expand and identify more and more people. It is common to say that Ojibwa refers to the distinctive puckered moccasins worn by these particular people, but it is also possible that the name indicates that these people drew petroglyphs, making them one of the few groups in North America to have a form of writing and keeping records.

For the people now called Ojibwa, the central base in the Great Lakes region was the village of Bawating, on the south

shore of the St. Mary's River, the outlet of Lake Superior that discharges into Lake Huron. This important location is one of the most important trade routes in North America, and early crossroads connected by waterways with James Bay, Hudson's Bay, the Mississippi River valley and the Gulf Coast, and the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers. The core community at Bawating was closely allied with bands based at nearby Garden River, and along the north shore of Lake Huron, known first by what appeared to be clan names. The Ottawas at Manitoulin Island became known as the traders among the Anishinabeg. Reference has already been made to the early advance of Ojibwa people along the south shore of Lake Superior to LaPointe. Ojibwas made a similar migration around the north shore of Lake Superior coming into contact with Cree people who lived on the northwest shore until the 17th century. The remarkable expansion of the Ojibwa country that has taken place since the latter part of the 17th century can be divided into three major waves of population movement: 1) southeast across the Ontario Peninsula in the late 17th century; 2) south and west of Lake Superior in the 18th century; and 3) north and west across the Canadian plains in the 19th century.

Moving into the Ontario Peninsula in the late 17th century, eastern Ojibwa bands took over territory that had been vacated as a consequence of epidemics of European diseases and Iroquois warfare. After driving out the "Hurons" (Wendat), Iroquois expeditions temporarily established villages in southern Ontario. But the tide of warfare turned by the 1680s as Great Lakes tribes joined forces to drive the Iroquois back into their home territory in upper New York. Abandoned Iroquois town sites on the



north shore of Lake Ontario were taken over by Ojibwa bands identified as "Missisaugas." Some of these Ojibwa newcomers came from the north shore of Lake Huron in the vicinity of the Missisagi River, a name indicating a region of many river mouths. Yet Anishinabe locating on the western end of Lake Ontario have thought that the new name referred to their prominent Eagle clan, pronounced "Ma-se-sa-gee." Whatever the origin, the name identifies as important city on the outskirts of Toronto. Anishenabe leaders entrusted with knowledge of their people's long history declared that the land had much earlier belonged to them, but that the Iroquois-speaking people had intruded into the country around Lake Erie and Ontario. So they viewed their successful military operations as a reconquest of their former homeland. Some of the southward moving Anishenabe settled in the St. Clair River region on present Walpole Island, and by 1750 spread northward in Lower Michigan to the Saginaw Bay region, and eastward along the Thames River in the province of Ontario.

The beginning of the second wave of Ojibwa expansion has already been discussed in connection with the explanation of the origin of the Lac Courte Oreilles community. The theme of this movement is the Ojibwas' persistent advance into traditional Dakota hunting grounds in western Wisconsin and Minnesota. At first, Ojibwas gave presents to Dakota leaders in return for the privilege of hunting in Dakota country, and arranged intertribal marriages intended to guarantee peace. Nevertheless the open warfare beginning before 1740 continued for over a century. The distribution of French firearms at La Pointe gave Ojibwa warriors an initial advantage. In spite of truces and intervals of peace,

hostilities pervaded the area as far west as North Dakota and extended northward into the present American-Canadian border region. Competition in the fur trade was certainly a factor, but revenge for previous loss of life also motivated continual attacks.

The Ojibwa advance south and west of Lake Superior was a major factor in changing the geographic pattern of Indian communities occupying the country around the western end of Lake Superior. Cree territory, in 1700 including the northwest coast of Lake Superior, receded westward toward Lake Winnipeg. Population loss due to the small pox epidemic of the 1780s, as well as other European diseases, may have been partly responsible for the change. In conjunction with the withdrawal of the Cree from the Lake Superior shores, Ojibwas moving around the north side of the Lake established settlements along the Rainy River and soon occupied the Red Lake region. This population migration is separate from the migration west from La Pointe and Lac Courte Oreilles. Cree and Assiniboin, coming from present Canadian territory north of the Lake-of-the-Woods, were also at war with the Sioux. They attacked villages and hunting parties in northern Minnesota. At the same time, the Teton Dakota based around the head of the Minnesota River (on the South Dakota border) shifted buffalo hunts from southern Minnesota prairies to the western plains adjoining the Missouri River.

As a result of a combination of circumstances, Ojibwa people by 1780 occupied sites on the lakes and streams of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota formerly controlled by the Dakota. By 1780, Dakota villages had all retreated south to the Minnesota

River Valley and the Mississippi River south of the present Minneapolis-St. Paul area. The 1780-1830 era marked the high tide of fur trading in the western Great Lakes region, prior to any significant intrusion of non-Indian settlements.

The third wave of Anishenabe expansion carried them northwest to Lake Winnipeg and across the Canadian plains into Saskatchewan. This movement actually began with the Revolutionary War. At the end of hostilities, the American government tried to end British trading on the American side of the international border set by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, yet British garrisons remaining at Mackinac Island until 1796 enabled Montreal traders to continue to dominate the fur trade until American legislation outlawed foreign traders in 1816 following the War of 1812. In response, British traders from Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, employing experienced French and metis voyagers, urged Ojibwa and Ottawa hunters to accompany them to new hunting grounds beyond Lake Superior. Pushing westward from Grand Portage, along the Pigeon-Rainy River route, Ojibwas gained a foothold on the shoreline of the Lake-of-the-Woods, also occupied by the Crees. Soon they were on Lake Winnipeg and the lower course of Red River that enters the lake a short distance west of the mouth of the Winnipeg River. As early as 1789, British traders were established upstream (south) on the Red River at Pembina, a mile south of the present Canadian boundary line. At Pembina, the Ojibwa and metis relatives and friends were close to buffalo herds. From this point the hunters spread westward over the plains beyond the Turtle Mountains, located on the present North Dakota-Canadian border. A second route of Ojibwa expansion

followed the Assiniboine River that enters the Red River at present Winnipeg, the central point of activity northwest of Lake Superior. In this region, the Anishenabe became known as the "Saulteaux" (finally corrupted in English to "Soto"), another version of the French name "Saulteurs" that first identified them as the "people from the falls". In western Manitoba and Saskatchewan, they are also called the Plains Ojibwa.

After three centuries of continuous expansion, the Ojibwas cover a large territory. Their present population is estimated above 200,000 with two-thirds living in Canada. An estimated 30,000 people still speak the language. By treaties with the American and Canadian governments, the Ojibwas now have over one hundred small homelands on reservations (called reserves in Canada). Ojibwa communities stretch almost 2,000 miles across North America, in Canada from near Peterborough in southeastern Ontario to Manitoba and Saskatchewan; in the United States from Michigan across northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and into Montana.

Thoughts Have Power, Words Have Privilege:  
Some Reflections on Social Scientific Observations and  
Understandings of the Ojibwe People

by  
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Introduction

...In the beginning Tse che nako, Thought Woman, finished everything, thoughts, and the names of all things...

Laguna Thought Woman Story in Allen (1986:122)

All human beings possess the power of thought. Through this power, humans develop complex symbolic systems for representing, interpreting and inventing their own particular worlds. Whether composed in words, numbers, or music, symbols are at the heart of what is commonly called a "culture."<sup>1</sup> All cultures are equal in their potential capacity to use symbols in making and expressing thought. Not all cultures, however, stand on the same ground, or hold the same privileges, when it comes to having their symbols heard, understood and respected.<sup>2</sup>

During the past five-hundred years, the cultural productions of many different peoples have been disempowered and deprivileged, largely as a result of the global expansion of Europeans and their interests.<sup>3</sup> Various forms of forced assimilation and more indirect avenues of acculturation have been described extensively in historical and anthropological writings

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<sup>1</sup> Culture may be defined in many different ways. In a general sense, culture is both a creative process and a collection of products originating from the pan-human ability to symbolize. In a particular sense, culture represents a blueprint by which a specific group of people symbolically construct their life and experience. See Wagner (1981) for one of the better theoretical treatments of the concept "culture."

<sup>2</sup> Throughout human history, inequities in wealth and power have been transformed into a hierarchical ranking of cultural symbols (e.g., civilized versus folk). Not only are dominant populations able to make their own words appear more persuasive than others, but they are often in a position to suppress the discourse of subordinate peoples as well (Carpenter 1972; Said 1978; Fabian 1983; Asad 1986; Marcus 1986; Pratt 1986; Rabinow 1986; Rosaldo 1986).

<sup>3</sup> This is not to say that only the imperialism of Europeans has suppressed the cultures of others. Clearly, other imperialistic powers, from Egypt to China to the Aztec of Mexico, have eliminated the creative expression of others in the interest of advancing their own empires.

on American Indians. In recent times, the work of several American Indian intellectuals has stimulated a discussion on how European-derived discourses suppress, alter and even displace the voices of First Nations people, and one of the most provocative aspects of their debate focuses on scholarly representation and interpretation.<sup>4</sup>

Many different kinds of scholarly discourse have been used to represent and interpret the lives, thoughts and words of Native Americans. One of the most recent, and one of the more heavily criticized, of these comes out of the tradition of American social science, which includes much contemporary work in the fields of geography, psychology, economics, sociology, anthropology, history, and political science. Since World War II, research and writing within this tradition has had a profound impact on the way in which the public has come to read and understand the experiences of American Indians (Deloria, Jr. 1968; Kidwell 1979; Vizenor 1984, 1989). And no where has this been more evident than in some of the social scientific literature on Ojibwe peoples in the United States and Canada.

In this paper, I wish to discuss some of the ways in which writings from the social scientific tradition have typed, conceptualized and explained the Ojibwe experience. But before dealing with the Ojibwe situation directly, it is important to make a few general remarks about social science as a particular philosophical perspective on the human experience and about its

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Harvey Pearce (1965) was one of the first scholars to examine indepth how Euro-American writers invented images of the American Indian. It was not until the 1970s, after the publication of Vine Deloria's classic book, Custer Died for your sins (1969), that the validity and credibility of scholarly research on American Indians came under increasing question (McHickie 1972; Medicine 1972; Ortiz 1972; Barkhofer 1978, 1987; Kidwell 1979; Vizenor 1984, 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Allen 1986; Deloria Jr. 1987; Krupat 1989, 1992; Owens 1992).

more general use in the study of American Indian culture and history.

### Social Science and the Study of the Human Experience

...science is a trope to power and rules memories; science measures humans and the earth in hypotragic isolation and monologues; the tribes and the wilderness vanish in tragic narratives (Vizenor 1989a:13).

One of the more important historical happenings through the middle of the 20th century was the rising influence of science on American life<sup>5</sup>. In its broadest and earliest sense, the expression "science" refers to any systematized body of knowledge, along with the methods that go into its making. Under a definition such as this, all human societies have "sciences" which entail the systematized gathering and ordering of information on specific subjects.<sup>6</sup> The word "science," as it is most commonly used today, has a more restrictive meaning, which refers primarily to knowledge associated with the physical world and with other phenomena that can be reduced to its materialist terms.<sup>7</sup>

Especially in the years after World War II, increasing numbers of scholars believed that science (in its more restricted sense) could faithfully replicate the world in all of its variety, and that it could do so, "objectively," without bias,

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<sup>5</sup> Along with the ascent of the United States to a prominent position in the world's geo-political order, there was a rising confidence among American scholars in the use of science as a philosophical approach for explaining the world and predicating its course. Some social scientists became so optimistic about the power of their theories and techniques that they predicted science would not only unravel the mysteries of human origins, but also, that it would build a world of progress in which hunger, poverty and despair disappears. The relationship between society and philosophy as science has been discussed in a number of sources (Marcuse 1964; Habermas 1971; Williams 1980; Jameson 1984). The book Social Science as Theory (Keat and Urry 1975), and the collected philosophical papers of Paul Feyerabend (1981, Vols. 1&2) offer some of the better critical treatments of science, especially scientific positivism.

<sup>6</sup> Lakoff (1987) offers an intriguing assessment of different kinds of systematizing practices from a cross-cultural perspective.

<sup>7</sup> In its more narrow sense (Mish 1987:1051), science stands apart from and often in opposition to the humanities. The more narrow usage of the word "science" is used throughout this paper

confusion or misrepresentation.<sup>8</sup> From economics to history and from psychology to anthropology, science became a privileged language through which much scholarly understanding of human beings was filtered. Among other things, it influenced how the human experience was conceptualized and divided categorically by classes, kinds and genres. It decided what subjects were worthy of inquiry, and what questions were appropriate to ask. It prescribed which phenomena stood as evidence for what is "real" and which paths led to insights on what is "truth." Finally, it defined who was qualified to pursue knowledge and to make judgments about the human condition (Keat and Urry 1975).

The dominance of scientific thinking in the world of scholars soon extended to American society at large, where it came to occupy a privileged role in marketing products, making policy and managing everyday life. It contributed to a cult of polls and surveys in which nothing in American life was "real" unless it could be registered through a pre-operationalized questionnaire and tabulated as data in some computer program. What was given in the appearance of something became everything (Berger 1972; Sontag 1973). Measurement took precedence over meaning in the pursuit of knowledge and understanding.<sup>9</sup>

By the 1970s, various kinds of scientific approaches dominated the ways in which Americans understood the human

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<sup>8</sup> It was assumed that this could be done because scientists knew the appropriate "words" (e.g., operational concepts) to make the world transparent and exercised the correct "rituals" (e.g., research methods) to reveal the origins and workings of the universe.

<sup>9</sup> In challenging some of science's epistemological assumptions, scholars have argued that understanding is not given passively through the appearance of things. Knowledge is acquired dialectically or interactively. It comes through a complex process in which what we sense through our awareness of sight, sound, smell and touch is interpreted through a pre-revised and reconstituted in the presence of what we apprehend through our senses and as a result, the realization of some neutral, value-free scientific "objectivity," becomes impossible (Keat & Urry 1975:9-26; Rabinov and Sullivan 1979; Wagner 1986).



experience.<sup>10</sup> Human life often did not exist as a form of legitimate experience or expression, unless it was represented and accounted for through one or another scientific language. As the discourse behind science became more empowered in American society, other voices became muffled and even silenced in the production of cultural knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

### Social Science in the Study of American Indians

..The difference between tribal imagination and social scientific invention are determined in world views: imagination is a state of being, a measure of personal courage; the invention of cultures is a material achievement through objective methodologies. To imagine the world is to be in the world; to invent the world with academic predilections is to separate human experiences from the world, a secular transcendence and denial of chance and mortalities.

(Vizenor 1984:27)

Today, as in the past, a principal purpose of the social sciences is the search for valid descriptive and explanatory generalizations about the human experience. More specifically, it is concerned with achieving these generalizations through the use of principles and methods associated with studies of the physical world.<sup>12</sup> In recent years, however, there has been a great deal of debate over the applicability of physical science

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<sup>10</sup> In many of the so-called social scientific disciplines, including anthropology, a deep rift has existed between scholars with a humanistic as opposed to a scientific orientation since at least the late nineteenth century. In the 1960s many of the humanistic aspects of these disciplines were cast aside in favor of more scientific perspectives. Recently, however, there has been a resurgence of humanist perspectives; and in anthropology, the social scientific edifice has come under serious attack from a number of different quarters (Fabian 1983; Marcus & Fischer 1986).

<sup>11</sup> Social science was seen as having an intrinsic and even naturally give superiority over other world views in understanding the human condition. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, however, a new generation of scholars began to lose faith in the power of science to adequately describe and explain the human experience. Cracks started to appear in the foundations of social science as some of its philosophical assumptions came under increasing attack (Hymes 1974; Lyotard 1984; Marcus & Fischer 1986). One of the major challenges to this privileging revolved around the question of whether science constituted some absolute, transcendent, and universalistic discourse. Many critics argued that knowledge is relative and culturally formulated, and as a result, science is just one among many world pictures that have evolved in the course of human history. It is a discourse whose production, power and privilege are subject to the events and conditions of the particular eras in which it has developed and flourished. One science's claim to a higher and unequivocal order of truth was challenged, then it became easier to argue that it had no intrinsic right or authority to dominate scholarly discourse (Habermas 1971; Keat & Urry 1975; Foucault 1976; Rabinauw & Sullivan 1979; Feyerabend 1981, Vol 1&2).

<sup>12</sup> Over the years, there has been much debate among social scientists regarding the applicability of physical scientific measures and techniques in the study of human behavior. Approaches based on a physical scientific framework have dominated several fields, especially psychology, sociology and geography. But even though they gained considerable ground in anthropology and history, they never really replaced the strong humanistic orientations of these two disciplines.

to the human experience.<sup>13</sup>

Also, until recently, most social scientific research was confined to people, places and events of European origin. Anthropology was a major exception, in so far as its social scientists tested their hypotheses in many different cultural settings. To their credit, anthropologists argued that it was impossible to make credible generalizations about human behavior unless data were drawn from a comparative arena of worldwide cultures. And for these scholars, European societies did not constitute the world<sup>14</sup>

In much of their comparative, scientific research, however, anthropologists reduced the world's many voices to a unitary operational language.<sup>15</sup> Like social scientists of other stripes, they employed standardized concepts, tools and measurements: uniform devices that acted like filters, selectively focusing the scholars' attention on particular kinds of questions, results and explanations. In the process, everything else was cast into the shadows of a stage where science was the central player.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Atkinson (1990) for a discussion of aspects of this debate in sociology.

<sup>14</sup> Until the early 1960s, anthropology was one of the few academic disciplines that consistently attended to the world views and experiences of peoples in cultures outside of Europe. It was not until the ethnic power movements of the late 60s and early 70s that the concept of culture and the study of ethnic groups took hold in other disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. Thus, while it is possible to criticize particular aspects of what different generations of anthropologists have thought and accomplished, it must be acknowledged that most of them were committed to presenting their research in honest and faithful ways (as this was understood in the social and intellectual climates of their time). See Steven Sangren's critique (1988) of Post-Modernist criticisms in anthropology.

<sup>15</sup> This was especially evident in the years after World War II, when growing numbers of anthropologist became enamored with the possibility of a universally comparative, scientific approach to human behavior. As this trend was emerging, there were heated and contentious debates over whether anthropology should be a generalizing form of science or a particularizing kind of history. The social scientific brand of anthropology, as it appeared in the 1950's, stood in bold contrast to earlier relativistic orientations, in which universal generalizations were eschewed in favor of recording concrete cultural detail (Bidney 1953).

<sup>16</sup> There are three kinds of difficulties here. One problem originated in a scientific epistemology, where reality as Paul Watzlawick (1984:63) puts it, "is an invention whose inventor is unaware of his act of invention." A second problem lies with some of the assumptions that are made about other people in the name of science. Here certain scientific findings are taken as universal expressions of the human condition, when they are little more than an ethnocentric projection of European values. And a third problem deals with the impact that scientific rhetoric has had on silencing other discourses.

One of the better examples of this is found in the cross-cultural use of psychological projective techniques, such as the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test.<sup>17</sup> Anthropologists were drawn to these tests because they appeared to be a culturally neutral method for assessing and comparing the psychological behavior of people on a worldwide scale. On the basis of these tests, which were administered in a variety of different societies, certain conclusions were reached about personality differences between cultures and among individuals within the same culture.<sup>18</sup> It has been argued, however, that many of the inferences made from these tests about cross-cultural behavior were biased by the pre-existing operational assumptions of the anthropologists, psychologists and educators who administered, read and interpreted them.<sup>19</sup>

The largest and most varied projective test samples came from research conducted among American Indians, particularly the Ojibwe in Canada and the United States.<sup>20</sup> In this testing, it was assumed that a direct correlation existed between an individual's creative capacity and the number as well as variety of responses given for each visual image in a projective test. From this, it was argued that since Ojibwe at Lac du Flambeau and Lac Court

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<sup>17</sup> The Rorschach entails a set of ink-blots, whereas the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) involves a series of line-drawings depicting people engaged in various activities. The interpretation of individual responses to these tests was heavily influenced by psychoanalytical and gestalt theories favored by psychologists during the first half of this century (Kaplan 1961:235-236).

<sup>18</sup> Irving Hallowell (1955:32-74) provides one of the earlier and more comprehensive discussions of projective testing in anthropology, but Kaplan (1971:235-254) offers one of the better critical discussions of this subject.

<sup>19</sup> C.f., Kaplan (ibid) and Henry (1961:587-598) for a discussion of problems associated with projective testing.

<sup>20</sup> Beyond the well-known use of these tests among Ojibwe (Caudill 1949; Barnouw 1950; Hallowell 1955; Friedl 1956), they were also administered among the Navajo (Vogt 1951), Menominee (Spindler 1955), Lakota (Erickson 1950), Tuscarora (Wallace 1952) and others.

Oreilles had lower and less complex response levels than those living in the Berens River region of Manitoba, their creative potential was reduced as well. The difference in test performance was attributed to the negative affects of acculturation on Ojibwe living in closest proximity to white communities.<sup>21</sup>

Scholars who employed projective tests followed a series of assumptions, based on work with people of European ancestry, that were largely untested and unproven in other cultural contexts.<sup>22</sup> In fact, it could be said that those who interpreted the test really don't know what the quantitative differences in response actually meant. And consequently, it could be argued just as well that Ojibwe at Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau did not respond (that is, reveal themselves) in complex ways because they were uncertain how the results of these tests would be used. Perhaps, on the basis of their past experiences with outsiders, these Ojibwe had more reason to be cautious, distrustful and apprehensive of visiting scholars carrying strange pictures and ink blots than those living in Manitoba. If this was the case, and certainly their apprehensions were justified given how their responses were eventually interpreted, then the entire argument that acculturation had dulled the phantasy and creative life of the Ojibwe was totally conjectural.<sup>23</sup>

Beyond the questionable cultural neutrality of projective

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<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of projective test results from the Ojibwe is found in a number of sources (Caudill 1949; Barnouw 1950, 1961; Hallowell 1955; Fried 1958).

<sup>22</sup> There were also a number of writings (James 1954, 1961, 1970; Lurie 1959; Beckerson 197(67) critical of the projective test interpretations for the Ojibwe.

<sup>23</sup> I make this argument given what we know to have been the response of American Indian tribes, such as the Hopi (Masayesva Jr. & Younger 1983), to the presence of outside photographers in their midst.

testing and other "objective" measurements of human attitude, there are broader problems with representation and interpretation behind many social scientific agendas. One of these is that data about peoples' lives are extracted from their natural settings and manipulated in terms of a set of concepts imposed from outside the context of that experience. In a scientific approach, whether information is solicited from Ojibwe lumberjacks, Welsh coal miners, or Chicano farm laborers, it generally does not get interpreted from the perspective of these workers. Instead the information is divorced from its source and explained in terms of the abstract and sometimes arcane interests of the scientific researcher. As this happens, the voices of the people studied get altered and even misplaced in the vocabulary of the social scientist.<sup>24</sup>

One of the many dangers of this kind of muffling-effect is that the framework of the social scientist is taken to be the view point of the people studied. In anthropology, for example, it is not unusual to find social scientific perspectives, such as formalist economics and sociobiology, parading as the foundation of other peoples' world views.<sup>25</sup> Even when followers of these schools acknowledge that what they are writing is not the point of view of those they study, they still insist that their approach should take priority as a basis for understanding and explanation. This insistence usually rests on the belief that certain social scientific principles and theories speak for a

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<sup>24</sup> Gerald Vizenor (1984, 1989a, 1989b) has been one of the most incisive critics of social scientific rhetoric in American Indian studies. Arnold Krupat (1992) has given an interesting rhetorical analysis of social scientific writings on American Indians as well.

<sup>25</sup> Marshall Sahlins (1977), an anthropologist, and Mary Midgley (1985), a philosopher, offer two of the better and more readable critiques of recent evolutionary approaches to human behavior.

"universal" truth. Other anthropologists, however, would argue that what is often identified as universal is really nothing more than a projection of European-derived concepts onto the rest of the world.<sup>26</sup>

It is important to emphasize that most of the people who practice social science do not silence the voices of those they study in some intentional way. The silencing occurs indirectly. It occurs because the subjects own representation and interpretation are given less weight than the scientific hypotheses and conclusions of those who study them.<sup>27</sup>

It is precisely because social science is a privileged language that it possesses both an authority and power to usurp other discourses. By extension, persons with scientific credentials carry more credibility as speakers for the translators of the human condition (Fabian 1983; Crapanzano 1986; Ames 1992; Krupat 1992; Lutz & Collins 1993).

Whether social science should occupy this privileged position or not is an ethical question, and one which has become a source of much contentious debate in the academic disciplines where social science has been practiced (Hymes 1974; Asad 1986; Marcus & Fisher 1986; Rabinow 1986). The moral basis of social science in American Indian scholarship had been challenged in the writings of Vine Deloria (1969), D'Arcy McNickle (1972) and Gerald Vizenor (1984,1989a,1989b) among others (Medicine 1972;

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<sup>26</sup> Even where researchers go to great lengths to differentiate their own "scientific" perspectives from "folk" interpretations (or and "etic" (outside) from an "emic" (insider) view) of the people they study, the two still get confused in the rhetoric of much social science writing (Fabian 1983; Rabinow 1986; Krupat 1992).

<sup>27</sup> This can involve a variety of different processes, such as failing to publish the verbal responses of the people studied, translating their responses into research jargon, and/or denying their credibility in the light of scientific discourse. But whenever this happens, the subjects of study become subordinate to the interests of a scientifically generated research question and its accompanying theory.

Ortiz 1972). These Native American scholars have raised various objections to social scientific research, although much of their critique has been aimed at the anthropologist as a generic representative of the social scientist.<sup>28</sup>

Taken together, their criticisms have entailed many complex ontological, epistemological and ethical issues, but four stand out: authenticity, authority, relevance, and reciprocity. It's been argued that social scientific voices, when speaking in either a generic or tribal sense, are inauthentic because they have not, and perhaps can not, reproduce the outlook of First Nations people in a true and faithful way. This is so, not only because social scientific assumptions sometimes stand in contradiction to those of Native Americans, but also because social scientists, often pursue agendas which have little Native input (Deloria Jr. 1969:81-82, 100; McNickle 1972:29-36; Medicine 1972:25-28; Kidwell 1979; Vizenor 1984:27-31; 1989a:9-14; 1989b:187-89, 194-96). Having failed in it's representational and interpretive efforts, some assert that social science holds no superior authority to comment on and give evidence of the historical and cultural experiences of American Indians. (Vizenor 1984:119-23, 1989a:3-14, 1989b:199-203; Whiteman 1987:169-170). And from this, the question has also been raised what use are the plethora of scientific studies, especially on reservation poverty and alcoholism, if none of them offer concrete solutions for changing peoples live (Deloria Jr. 1969:83-96; Vizenor 1984:119-23). And finally, on the critical

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<sup>28</sup> Alfonso Ortiz (1972:10-11) warned early on that it was dangerous to use the anthropologist as a primary scapegoat, not only because these professionals were fairly powerless and vulnerable in relation to other groups working in American Indian communities but also because criticism of them deflects attention away from the "real enemy."

subject of reciprocity, and commitment to the American Indian communities scholars study, much of the debate has revolved around issues of "ownership," i.e., who has the right to define and control the direction of studies in American Indian communities and who benefits most from this research.<sup>29</sup>

Twenty-five years have passed since Vine Deloria's initial challenge<sup>30</sup> to academics, especially anthropologists. In the interim, the profession of anthropology has undergone a major shift with fewer of its scholars being trained in Native American studies. Today, outside of pre-history, anthropologists are no longer the central academic players studying the historic or contemporary experiences of American Indians (Albers 1987). Indeed, it can be said, as Ray Fogelson did at the Lac Courte Oreilles Tribal College seminar, that "anthropologists have become an endangered species" in American Indian communities. Generally speaking, most modern criticism has not overcome the major problematic consequences of social scientific research as much as it has brought about a change in the cast of characters who study in American Indian communities.<sup>31</sup> Some of the newer crop of researchers, who come from disciplines as diverse as

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<sup>29</sup> cf., Ortiz (1972:8-9) Deloria 1969:83-95). There is really no dividing line here among social scientists or between social scientists and humanists. Whatever professional stripe a scholar wears, their loyalties get torn between the interests of the communities they study, the agencies who fund them and the peers who evaluate their work. Ideally, these interests should overlap, but in actuality, they frequently compete for the time, energy and soul of the scholar.

As long as potentially competing interest groups play a role in research efforts, American Indian communities never fully their midst. This is not to imply that American Indians do not benefit from various joint research efforts. They certainly do. It only means that Naive American groups need to be simultaneously the subject, grantor and evaluator of research if they are to achieve any sort of "real" ownership. But no matter whose interests a research agenda gets defined by, it still has to be defined in terms of some socially acceptable pattern of scholarship such as science. Unless this happens, research results many not get a hearing in the agencies, courts and legislative assemblies whose actions are critical to tribal life-lines. And even though their communities may have more say over what types of studies are conducted in their midst and who does the research, American Indians (no more so than most other Americans) still do not have much of a say over the epistemological grounds on which this research stands.

Dell Hymes edited volume, Reinventing Anthropology (1974), cover many of these ethnical question from the perspective of anthropology.

<sup>30</sup> His original challenge to anthropologists appeared in Penthouse Magazine (1986).

<sup>31</sup> There is no question that after the publication of Custer Died For Your Sins (Deloria 1969) being trained as an anthropologist became a liability, if a scholar wished to do research in American Indian communities.



education, sociology, business and health, bring much of the same cultural baggage as the anthropologist did and sometimes even more of it. Trained in disciplines that have become sensitized to cultural variation only within the past few decades, they frequently impose questionnaires and systems of social scientific analysis that are even more ethnocentric and alienating than anything ever drummed up by the erstwhile anthropologist.

That aspects of American Indian culture and history have been clouded by the imagery and agendas of outsiders is not a problem peculiar to the social sciences, however. It is part of a broader pattern of rhetoric and discourse where any colonizing nation, class or ethnic group has greater power to define the conditions and terms by which colonized people get represented and interpreted. And it is also part of a worldwide landscape where the conventionalized prejudices of the colonizers have become historical "truths."<sup>32</sup>

Ultimately, there are complex consequences of divorcing scholarly representation and interpretation from a people's lived experience. In the case of American Indians, their experiences are marked by unique expressions which arise from the particular grounds of their cultures and histories. Regrettably, much of this uniqueness gets lost in modern social science, an academic world where America's indigenous people often become little more than qualitative and/or quantitative data for some abstract theory (Vizenor 1989b: 189-94). And this can be illustrated in greater depth by examining some of the social scientific

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<sup>32</sup> These issues have been discussed elsewhere in terms of relationships between Europeans and colonised populations in other parts of the world (Said 1978; Asad 1986).

typologies, concepts and theories that have been applied in studies of Ojibwe people from the Great Lakes region of the United States and Canada.

### Category and Typology in Social Scientific Representation

"...The massive volume of useless knowledge produced by anthropologists attempting to capture real Indians in a network of theories has contributed substantially to the invisibility of Indian people today. After all, who can conceive of a food-gathering, berry-picking, semi-nomadic, fire-worshipping, high-plains-and-mountain-dwelling, horse-riding, canoe-toting, bead-using, pottery-making, ribbon-coveting, wickiup-sheltered people...Not even Indians can relate themselves to this type of creature who, to anthropologist, is the 'real' Indian..."

(Deloria Jr. 1969:81-82)

A major feature of research in the social sciences is the creation of operational typologies, or sets of generalized categories according to which human populations are classed, grouped and distinguished on specific comparative grounds. Generally, these typologies are heuristic devices that assist the researcher to focus and organize a specific field of study. And even though they are not to be viewed as fixed and concrete empirical schemes, they are often treated as such.<sup>33</sup>

One of the most enduring and widespread typologies found in the social sciences differentiates societies according to their subsistence strategies. Here societies are grouped and separated not only by the kinds of foods they consume but also by the ways in which they procure them. A quick look at any introductory text in anthropology will reveal five major subsistence types: hunter-gatherer, horticultural, agricultural, pastoral, and

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<sup>33</sup> Every cultural system contains a series of structures and rules by which phenomena get joined and separated. A basic part of every cultural education involves learning how to identify and organize them in relation to each other. Every culture education involves learning how to identify and organize them in relation to each other. Every culture contains criteria for naming and classification. But what gets lumped together, and what gets separated, often depends on what is important to the people doing the categorizing. As a cultural system, science also prioritized the grounds on which it builds typologies most of which are materialistic in their orientation (Johnson 198; Lakoff 1987)